

JERUSALEM

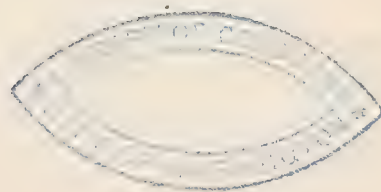
A SKETCH OF THE CITY AND TEMPLE FROM THE
EARLIEST TIMES TO THE SIEGE BY TITUS

BY

✓
THOMAS LEWIN, ESQ.

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD, M.A.

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL" "CÆSAR'S INVASION OF BRITAIN"
"ESSAY ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT"



LONDON

LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS

1861

IS 109
L67

TO

THE RIGHT HON. LORD ST. LEONARDS.

MY LORD,

I had the honor, many years since, of dedicating to your Lordship a Treatise, now not unknown in the legal profession; and as I attribute its success in some measure to the impulse originally given to it by your Lordship's patronage, I indulge the hope that another work of a totally different character, the fruit of my leisure hours, may also recommend itself to favor by an introduction to the public under the same happy auspices.

To your Lordship, therefore, the following pages are, by permission, inscribed; and should even the stamp of your Lordship's name fail to give currency to my labors, I shall at least derive this satisfaction,—that they afforded me an opportunity of testifying my respect for your Lordship, and of expressing my grateful sense of the many favors which I have received at your Lordship's hands.

I remain

Your Lordship's humble and devoted servant,

THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

IN the following pages are discussed the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre, the sites of the Jewish Temple and Antonia, and the courses of the ancient walls, with other questions of interest connected with the topography of Jerusalem. It is well known that the most discordant views have been entertained by the different writers upon this subject, as by Williams, Fergusson, and Thrupp in England; by Robinson and Barclay in America; and by Schultz, Krafft, and Tobler in Germany. The Author has little hope that his own lucubrations will solve the enigma; but, as he has carefully and impartially examined the various theories, a brief exposition of the grounds on which his conclusions have been arrived at may, though failing to produce conviction, yet serve as a guide and smooth the way to future investigation.

The Author, not having personally visited Jerusalem, is indebted for his materials to the works of others. Robinson in particular has, from his habit of accurate observation, collected in his "Biblical Researches" a perfect storehouse of facts for the benefit of all. His reasoning, too, is that of a logical mind, and always conducted in a temperate and philosophical spirit. The Author regrets that he differs so entirely from the

conclusions of this eminent topographer. Indeed, of the four propositions which Robinson has put forward as generally admitted,—1. that Sion was the south-western hill; 2. that the site of the Jewish Temple was that now occupied by the Mosque of Omar; 3. that the ancient tower, just south of the Jaffa gate, is Hippicus; 4. that the ancient remains at the Damascus gate belong to the second wall;—to none can the Author give an unqualified assent. Sion, in the Author's opinion, was *not* the south-western hill; the site of the Temple was *not* that of the Mosque; the tower, just south of the Jaffa gate, was *not* Hippicus; and the Damascus gate was *not* in the second wall.

Fergusson labours under the same disadvantage with the Author, in not having himself examined the ground; but he has largely contributed to the elucidation of the subject. The architectural knowledge which he has brought to bear upon the description of the Temple is of the last importance. Many of his views, which are original, have been adopted by the Author: as that the tower by the Jaffa gate, if one of the towers of Herod, is Phasaëlus; that the name of Sion belongs, not to the western, but to the eastern, hill; and that the Temple must have stood at the south-western corner of the Haram. In other points Fergusson has “gloriously offended,”—as in attempting to identify the Mosque of Omar with the Church of Constantine; in the position he has assigned to Hippicus; and in the courses of the ancient walls. However, when he errs in judgment he always interests from the ability and ingenuity of the argument.

The other writers upon the topography of Jerusalem are too numerous to be specially mentioned; but the Author is, more or less, under obligations to them all.

The Author must not omit, in conclusion, to return his best thanks to his relative, Mrs. Spencer Lewin, for her kind assistance in the construction of the accompanying Map.

LINCOLN'S INN: July 27, 1861.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	Page
JERUSALEM FROM THE EARLIEST NOTICES TO THE FALL OF THE	
MONARCHY	1
The Temple of Solomon	14
Millo	16
Palace of Solomon	22
Walls of Solomon	32
Reign of Hezekiah	39
„ Manasseh	51
„ Zedekiah	55

CHAPTER II.

WALLS OF NEHEMIAH	57
-----------------------------	----

CHAPTER III.

TIME OF THE MACCABEES	82
---------------------------------	----

CHAPTER IV.

TIME OF THE HERODS	99
The City generally	99
The Walls	110
First Wall	113
Second Wall	118
(Place of Crucifixion	127
The Holy Sepulchre)	133
Third Wall	167

	Page
The Temple of Herod	195
Castle of Antonia	198
The Temple Platform	206
The Siege by Titus	210

CHAPTER V.

PRESENT STATE OF THE TEMPLE MOUNT	220
Site of the Temple	220
Catherwood's Theory	220
Robinson's Theory	221
Williams's Theory	226
The Author's own View	234

APPENDIX.

I.

HYPOTHETICAL COURSE OF THE SECOND AND THIRD WALLS	253
---	-----

II.

ACCOUNT OF JERUSALEM BY THE BORDEAUX PILGRIM, A.D. 333	266
--	-----

INDEX	273
-----------------	-----

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. Plan of Church of the Holy Sepulchre . . . *facing page 140*
2. Ordinary Plan of Jewish Tombs . . . *page 157*
3. View of Entrance to the Tombs of the Kings *facing page 158*
4. Plan and Section of Machinery for closing and opening the
Entrance to Tombs of the Kings . . . *facing page 158*
5. Map of Ancient Jerusalem . . . *at the end*
6. Plan of the Castle of David . *at the foot of the foregoing Map*

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page

86. Bethzur has been identified by Robinson with Beit Sûr. See *Biblic. Res.* vol. iii. p. 276.
- 89, line 8, for "Acra" read "Acre."
- 94, line 7 from bottom of text, for "Alexander" read "Alexandra."
- 106, line 5 from bottom, for "lain" read "lien."
119. As to the course of the Second Wall, it may not be uninteresting to extract a passage from a book recently published, "Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines," by Emily A. Beaufort. After stating that the Russians had lately become owners of part of the premises formerly occupied by the Hospitallers of St. John, at the south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Miss Beaufort proceeds, at p. 265: "The Russians were excavating part of their newly acquired territory, or rather digging through the accumulated rubbish to see at what depth the real soil lay, when at about thirty feet deep the spade struck a stone, and a few turns more laid bare some depth of wall built in precisely the same style as the Wailing-place of the Jews and other Herodian masonry. This piece of wall is in *the form of a right angle*; only a very few stones were uncovered, but these appeared to be about six or seven feet long, and three or four feet high, all bevelled, but it was not easy to get at them for examination. Their grand interest is that they lie exactly in the line supposed to be that of the second wall. These stones lie further north, but parallel to the Sûk el Kabeer (the bazaar) of the present city, about half a dozen feet to the west of it, in the *middle of which*, some time ago, Signor Pierotti came to stones of the same style of work in an excavation he had occasion to make for the Pasha."
- 160, line 3, for "for" read "and."
- 163, note 2, for "Holy City, ii. 160" read "Holy City, 186, 187."
- 213, note 2, for "Holy City, ii. 497" read "Holy City, 487."
- 227, line 3, for "50" read "450."
- 245, line 7, *dele* "on."

EXPLANATION OF SOME OF THE REFERENCES.

Bell.	=	The Wars of Josephus.
Ant.	=	The Antiquities of Josephus.
Traill's Josephus	=	Edited by I. Taylor. London 1851.
Rob.	=	Robinson's Biblical Researches. Second edition. 1856.
Williams	=	Holy City. Second edition. 1849.
Fergusson	=	Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem. Weale, 1847.
Thrupp	=	Antient Jerusalem. Macmillan, 1855.
Barclay	=	City of the Great King. 1856.
Tobl. Top.	=	Tobler's Topographie von Jerusalem. Berlin, 1853.
Tobl. Denk.	=	Tobler's Denkblätter aus Jerusalem. Constanz, 1856.
Tobl. Dritte Wand.	=	Tobler's Dritte Wanderung. Gotha, 1859.
Krafft	=	Topographie Jerusalem's, von W. Krafft. Bonn, 1846.
Schultz	=	Jerusalem. 1843.
Bartlett's Jerus.	=	Walks about Jerusalem. Second Edition.
Bartlett's Jerus. Rev.	=	Jerusalem Revisited. A. Hall, 1855.
Vogüé	=	Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte. Paris, 1860.
Wilson	=	Lands of the Bible. 1843.
Stewart	=	Tent and Khan.

SKETCH OF JERUSALEM.

CHAPTER I.

JERUSALEM, FROM THE EARLIEST NOTICES TO THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY.

THE first site of Jerusalem was the Hill now erroneously called Sion, and which we shall designate in these pages as Pseudo-Sion, the plateau of rock at the south-west, surrounded on all sides by ravines, viz. by the Valley of Hinnom on the west and south, and by the Tyropœon, or Cheesemakers' Valley, on the north and east.¹ Parallel to this lay the real Sion, the less elevated eastern hill, shut in on the west by the Tyropœon Valley, which divided it from Pseudo-Sion, and on the east by the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and ending southward in a wedge-like point opposite to the south-east corner of Pseudo-Sion. The town on the westernmost of these two ridges was known first as Jebus, and afterwards as the High Town, or Upper Market; and the accretion to it on the eastern hill was anciently called Salem, and subsequently the Low Town and Acra. In the days of lawless violence, the first object was safety; and, as the eastern

¹ The Tyropœon on the north ran in the course of David Street and Temple Street, and is now distinguishable only by the rise of ground on the south of the street. Of this more hereafter.

hill was by nature exposed on the north, it was there protected artificially by a citadel and fosse.

The High Town and Low Town were originally two distinct cities, occupied by the Amorites and Hittites, whence the taunt of the prophet to Jerusalem: "Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite."¹ Hence, also, the dualistic form of the name Jerusalem in Hebrew, signifying "Twin-Jerusalem."² Indeed the opinion has been broached that Jerusalem is the compound of the two names, Jebus and Salem, softened *euphoniæ gratiâ* into Jerusalem. It is remarkable that to the very last the quarter lying between the High Town and Low Town, though in the very heart of the city when the different parts were united into one compact body, was called the Suburb.³

The first notice of Jerusalem is in the time of Abraham. The king of Shinar and his confederates captured Sodom and Gomorrah, and carried away Lot, Abraham's brother's son; when Abraham, collecting his trainbands, followed after the enemy and rescued Lot; and on his return "at the valley of Shaveh, which is the *king's vale*, Melchizedek, king of *Salem* — the priest of the Most High God — blessed Abram."⁴ The king's vale was the Valley of Jehoshaphat⁵; and Salem was identical with the eastern hill, the real Zion, as we learn from the Psalms, "In Salem is his tabernacle, and his dwelling-place in Zion;"⁶ where Salem and Zion are evidently used as synonymous.

Whether Moriah, on which Abram offered his sacrifice⁷, was the very mount on which the Temple was

¹ Ezek. xvi. 2, 45.

³ Jos. Ant. xv. 11, 5.

⁵ 2 Sam. xviii. 18. Jos. Ant. vii. 10, 3.

⁶ Ps. lxxvi. 2.

² יְרוּשָׁלַיִם

⁴ Gen. xiv. 17.

⁷ Gen. xxii. 2.

afterwards built, must be left to conjecture. But when the Second Book of Chronicles was written, the Jews had at least a tradition to that effect, for we read that "Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem in Mount Moriah."¹

On the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, we find distinct mention made of Jerusalem by that very name; for after Joshua's death, "the children of Judah fought against *Jerusalem*, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire."² But Josephus is probably right in understanding this to apply to the Low Town only³, i. e. the eastern hill, or Sion, as opposed to the western hill, the High Town, or Pseudo-Sion. The men of Judah had only a temporary occupation even of the Low Town, for it was not until the time of David that Jerusalem was brought permanently under the dominion of the Israelites.

The adventurous son of Jesse made his first assault upon Sion, or the eastern hill, and succeeded in capturing the castle afterwards occupied by the famous Acra of the Macedonians, at the north-west corner of the present Haram esh Sherîf, or platform of the Mosque of Omar. "David and all Israel went to Jerusalem, which is Jebus. . . . And David took the castle of Zion, which is the city of David. . . . And David dwelt in the castle; therefore they called it the city of David."⁴

The High Town on the west, protected on all sides by ravines, still held out, and the Jebusites, in mockery, set the blind and the lame upon the wall, as if the blind and the lame could defend a fortification of such natural strength. But David, in the chivalrous spirit of the age,

¹ 2 Chron. iii. 1.

² Judges i. 9.

³ τὴν κάτω.—*Ant.* v. 2, 2.

⁴ 1 Chron. xi. 4. 2 Sam. v. 6.

proclaimed, "Whosoever getteth up to the gutter, and smiteth the Jebusites," shall be chief captain of the army. And Joab went up first, and was chief.¹ The English version has imported into the passage the derogatory term of "gutter;" but Josephus, who at all events knew Hebrew, interprets the word to mean the ravine by which the High Town was begirt², and so, unquestionably, the verse should be rendered.

Both High Town and Low Town having thus fallen before the arms of David, he now resolved to make Jerusalem the capital of his kingdom, and applied himself to its restoration and enlargement. "And David built round about from Millo and inward."³ "He built the city round about, even from Millo round about."⁴ "And Joab repaired the rest of the city;" i. e. the High Town, which had been captured by him.⁵ Millo, however, is here spoken of by anticipation; as Millo, the great earthwork round the Temple, was first built by Solomon. The inference from the passage is, that David carried a wall from the north-west corner of Millo in a curvilinear course westward, and then southward to Pseudo-Sion, so as to connect the High and Low Town on the north while he also built "inward," i. e. across the Tyropœon Valley, so as to connect the High Town and Low Town on the south. Josephus paraphrases the Scripture account by saying that David "encompassed the Low Town, and joined the High Town to it, and so made both one city."⁶

We read that David "dwelt" in Sion, and that he

¹ 1 Chron. xi. 6. 2 Sam. v. 8.

² τῷ διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων φαραγγῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀκραν ἀναβάντι.—*Ant.* vii. 3, 1.

³ 2 Sam. v. 9.

⁴ 1 Chron. xi. 8.

⁵ 1 Chron. xi. 8.

⁶ Δαυΐδης δὲ τὴν τε κάτω πόλιν περιλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἄκραν συνάψας αὐτῇ, ἐποίησεν ἐν σῶμα. — *Ant.* vii. 3, 2.

built there a house of cedar¹, and brought thither the ark of God. “And David made him houses in the city of David, and prepared a place for the ark of God, and pitched for it a tent:”² and the tent was within the precincts of the palace, for said Solomon, “My wife shall not dwell in the house of David, king of Israel, because the places are holy whereunto the ark of the Lord hath come.”³

In fixing the royal residence, and planting the pavilion for the ark in the city of David, i. e. on the eastern hill, or Sion, we should imagine that David was influenced by the prestige attached to the place from remote antiquity. Melchizedek, the priest of the Most High God, had been king of Salem, the city on Sion; and again Araunah, who is designated by the title of king⁴, and was, therefore, one of the royal stock of the Jebusites, is said to have had his threshing-floor, and, therefore, it is likely, his palace also, on the same hill.

What was the exact site of the house of David we cannot determine, but it was below the area of the Temple, for Solomon is described as “bringing up the ark of the Lord out of the city of David, which is Sion;”⁵ and the only part of Jerusalem which was lower than the Temple was that now called Ophel. We know also that in this quarter was the Tower of David, builded for an armoury⁶, which was probably not far from the palace. The circumstance that David, from the roof of his house, saw Bathsheba at her bath, may be thought to indicate the vicinity of a pool; and, were this so, the pool referred to would be that of which the remains were not long since discovered below the Temple platform at

¹ 2 Sam. vii. 2. 1 Chron. xvii. 1.

³ 2 Chron. viii. 11.

⁵ 1 Kings viii. 1, 6.

² 1 Chron. xv. 1.

⁴ 2 Sam. xxiv. 23.

⁶ Cant. iv. 4.

the south-east.¹ However, Josephus, who could best speak to the habits of his own country, writes that Bathsheba was performing her ablutions in her own house.² Some light is thrown upon the position of David's palace by a passage in Nehemiah, for when one of the two great companies of thanks paraded from the Jaffa gate southward to the south-east corner of the High Town, "at the fountain gate which was over against them, they went up by the stairs of the city of David at the going up of the wall, *above the house of David*, even unto the water gate (of the Temple)."³ So that the royal residence was clearly on the eastern hill, and to the south of the Temple, and probably on the site of what was afterwards known as the Palace of Helena.⁴ This locality of David's palace would agree also with the incidental notice, that when Absalom rebelled against his father, and David fled by the ascent of Olivet, the two spies who were to communicate with the royal palace in the city were posted at En-rogel, the fountain or well just below the southern point of the eastern hill.⁵

We have assumed that Sion is the eastern hill, and this, we think, will be admitted as the better opinion after a perusal of the following extract, which we have great pleasure in citing from a publication of great learning by Mr. Thrupp.⁶ "Throughout the Psalms and prophetic writings," he observes, "from first to last, Zion is spoken of as the *Holy Hill*, the dwelling-place of the Holy One of Israel, the mountain of the *House of the Lord*. In the first place, Zion is well known as the Holy Mountain, 'Yet have I set my king upon my *Holy Hill* of Zion.'⁷ 'Blow ye the trumpet in Zion,

¹ Tobl. Top. ii. 78.

² ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς οἰκίᾳ. — *Ant.* vii. 7, 1.

³ Neh. xii. 37.

⁴ Bell. vi. 6, 3.

⁵ 2 Sam. xvii. 17.

⁶ Thrupp's Ancient Jerusalem, p. 21.

⁷ Ps. ii. 6.

and sound an alarm in my *Holy Mountain*.¹ ‘So shall ye know that I am the Lord your God dwelling in Zion, my *Holy Mountain*.’² ‘Upon Zion shall be deliverance, and there shall be *holiness*.’³

“Still more distinct, perhaps, are those passages which speak of Zion as the dwelling-place of the Lord (passages far too numerous to quote at length).⁴ So that the Lord is specially called the Lord of Hosts which dwelleth in Mount Zion.⁵ His fire is in Zion, and his furnace in Jerusalem.⁶ He promises to return to Zion.⁷ He is to reign over his people in Mount Zion.⁸ He is great in Zion.⁹ Zion is told that the Holy One is in the midst of her¹⁰, and she is thus the place of the name of the Lord of Hosts¹¹, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel¹², and the songs of Zion are the Lord’s songs.¹³ The phrase ‘*Holy Mountain*’ is expressly explained to mean ‘the mountain of the Lord of Hosts,’¹⁴ that is the Zion to which the Lord is returned. In a yet more forcible manner God is spoken of as choosing Zion¹⁵, the Mount Zion which He loved¹⁶, the Zion whose gates are dearer to Him than all the dwellings of Jacob¹⁷; or as founding Zion¹⁸, and laying a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation therein.¹⁹ Zion then being the Lord’s

¹ Joel ii. 1.

² Joel iii. 17.

³ Obad. 17.

⁴ See, besides those cited, Ps. ix. 11; lxviii. 16; lxxiv. 2; lxxvi. 2; cxxxii. 14. Joel iii. 17, 21.

⁵ Is. viii. 18.

⁶ Is. xxxi. 9.

⁷ Zech. viii. 3.

⁸ Mich. iv. 7.

⁹ Ps. xcix. 2.

¹⁰ Is. xii. 6.

¹¹ Is. xviii. 7.

¹³ Ps. cxxxvii. 3, 4.

¹² Is. lx. 14.

¹⁵ Ps. cxxxii. 13.

¹⁴ Zech. viii. 3.

¹⁷ Ps. lxxxvii. 2.

¹⁶ Ps. lxxviii. 68.

¹⁹ Is. xxviii. 16.

¹⁸ Is. xiv. 32.

dwelling-place, it is not surprising that we should read of His sending His blessing out of Zion¹, or of His strengthening His anointed out of Zion²; of salvation coming out of Zion³; of the law going forth from Zion⁴; or, lastly, that in that beautifully poetical picture which the Psalmist puts before us of God coming to judge His people, He should be said to shine out of Zion, the perfection of beauty.⁵

“It will hardly be questioned that Zion was God’s dwelling-place. The reason was, that on this hill the Jewish Temple stood. Thus, in the Prophets Isaiah and Micah, instead of the ‘mountain of the Lord,’ we have the less common but more definite expression of the ‘mountain of the Lord’s house.’⁶ It is the Temple that is most probably to be understood by the phrase, ‘the tabernacle of the daughter of Zion,’⁷ although it is not necessary to weaken the force of the present argument by adducing any passage with respect to the interpretation of which any doubt can exist. We have evidence enough, and to spare, to prove that the Temple stood on Mount Zion, without being obliged to vindicate the true meaning of any isolated text. The Jewish priests are called the priests of Zion⁸; and when, on the solemn feast-day, they are ordered to weep between the porch and the altar of the Temple, it is in Zion that the trumpet is to be blown.⁹ It is to Zion, the city of the Jewish solemnities¹⁰, that all the Israelites came up¹¹

¹ Ps. cxxviii. 5; cxxxiv. 3.

² Ps. xx. 2; cx. 2.

⁴ Is. ii. 3. Mic. iv. 2.

⁶ Is. ii. 2. Mic. iv. 1.

⁷ Lam. ii. 4.

⁹ Joel ii. 15.

¹¹ Ps. lxxxiv. 7. Jer. l. 5. Lam. i. 4.

³ Ps. xiv. 7; liii. 6.

⁵ Ps. l. 2.

⁸ Lam. i. 4.

¹⁰ Is. xxxiii. 20.

to keep the solemn feasts¹; and in Zion, in the courts of the Lord's house, that they love to show forth his praises."²

These passages show that Sion was the hill on which the Temple was built, that is, the eastern hill; and down even to the time of the Maccabees the name of Sion attached itself to the eastern hill only. But in the first century after Christ the word Sion, which, perhaps, had always belonged rather to the region of poetry than history, had entirely disappeared, and Josephus never once alludes to it.

When Jerusalem, after its utter destruction by Titus, rose again from its ashes, localities came to be strangely confused, and the name of Sion was assigned most improperly to the western instead of the eastern hill. Even so early as the Itinerary of Jerusalem, A.D. 333, the Bordeaux Pilgrim speaks of the western hill by the name of Sion.

It was in the very last days of King David that an incident occurred, the account of which will tend to elucidate the early topography of Jerusalem. Adonijah, his son, had entered upon the nefarious design of seizing the crown, and "prepared himself chariots and horsemen, and fifty men to run before him;"³ and he "slew sheep and oxen and fat cattle by the stone of Zoheleth, which is by En-rogel"⁴ (in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, at the south-east corner of Jerusalem); and assembled Abiathar the priest, and Joab the captain of the host, and a numerous retinue of friends and supporters at the banquet. This treasonable pro-

¹ Lam. ii. 6.

² Ps. ix. 14; lxxv. 1. cxxxv. 21. Jer. l. 28; li. 10. Cf. Ps. cxvi. 19.

³ 1 Kings i. 5.

⁴ 1 Kings i. 9.

ceeding was not unknown to Nathan the prophet and Zadok the priest, and Benaiah the captain of the guard, and others who were interested in securing the succession to Solomon, the son of David by Bathsheba. Nathan therefore went to the queen, and informed her of the doings at En-rogel, and a little drama was concerted between them. Bathsheba was to present herself before David, and remind him of his promise, real or pretended, that Solomon should be his successor; and while she was yet speaking, Nathan, arriving as if by accident at the same moment, was to confirm her tale. Their parts were well acted, and while Queen Bathsheba was closeted with David, Nathan was announced, who, in hurried tones, proclaimed the treason that was hatching at En-rogel. "They drink before him, and say, God save king Adonijah!"¹ David, weighed down by years and infirmities, succumbed before their joint influence, and gave the order: "Cause Solomon, my son, to ride upon mine own mule, and bring him down to Gihon; and let Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet there anoint him king over Israel: and blow ye with the trumpet and say, God save king Solomon!"² The cavalcade hastened down to Gihon, and Solomon was there anointed king; and no sooner was the ceremony ended, than they blew with the trumpet, and the people shouted, God save king Solomon! and escorted him in triumph up to the city. Adonijah and his guests were still seated at the banqueting-table at En-rogel, but little distant from Gihon, when the sound of the trumpet and the shout of the people reached their ears. The old soldier, Joab, first caught the alarm. "Wherefore is this noise of the city being in

¹ 1 Kings i. 25.

² 1 Kings i. 33.

an uproar?" and while he yet spake, Jonathan, the youthful son of Abiathar, rushed in, and Adonijah greeted him with, "Come in, for thou art a valiant man, and bringest good tidings." But no sooner did Jonathan announce that Solomon was king, than the countenances of the fawning flatterers fell, "and all the guests that were with Adonijah were afraid, and rose up, and went every man his way;" and Adonijah himself, in whose ears the acclamation, "God save king Adonijah!" was still ringing, fled for his life, and laying hold of the horns of the altar claimed the benefit of the asylum.

As this is the first mention made of the mysterious Gihon, we must pause upon it for a moment. Gihon was apparently the old name for the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The latter name is said not to have been known until after the Christian era, and is thought to have been taken from the prophecy of Joel iii. 2—12, that God should judge the heathen for their oppression of His people "in the valley of Jehoshaphat;" phraseology not indicating any particular locality, but applied figuratively, the word Jehoshaphat signifying "Jehovah judgeth."¹ Gihon is compounded of two Hebrew words, גִּיחֹן and יְבוֹשָׁפָט, which import the Valley of Beauty.² The former, in its primary sense, signifies a gush of water, and thence the channel formed by the water, and so a valley. The term would thus be most appropriate to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, as containing the only running stream about Jerusalem. The Fountain of the Virgin, which rises at the bottom of the ravine, a little to the south of the Haram, had originally flowed into the brook Kidron,

¹ Robins. B. R. i. 269.

² See Calmet.

but was artificially carried by a conduit across the ridge of Sion to the Pool of Siloam, from which it now winds its way back again into the Valley of Jehoshaphat. This was the lower watercourse of Gihon. More to the north was anciently another spring, called the upper watercourse of Gihon, which was stopped or sealed in the time of Hezekiah, and conveyed to the west side of the city of David. On the north, where the upper spring diffused its genial influence, were olive groves and fields. On the south, where the Lower Gihon discharged itself, namely, in the plain at the junction of the three valleys of Jehoshaphat, the Tyropœon, and Hinnom, were the king's vineyards and gardens.¹ Here, even at the present day, are grown the vegetables for the supply of the Jerusalem market², and here are the pleasure-grounds of Jerusalem, to which in summer the inhabitants of the sultry city repair at eventide to sip their coffee and smoke their narghilehs.³ The care once bestowed upon this royal demesne is evidenced by the singular circumstance, that here alone in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem all the stones have been removed, and a rich mould only remains.⁴ What must have been the attraction of the scene when the treasures of the kings of Judah were bestowed upon the culture of the natural paradise ! It is to these enchanting gardens of Gihon, fed by the running rills of Siloam, that the Son of Sirach alludes : " God," he says, " maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light, and as *Gihon in the time of vintage*. The first man knew her not perfectly, no more shall the last man find her out. For her thoughts are more than the sea, and her counsels profounder than the great deep. I also came out as a

¹ Zech. xiv. 10.

² De Sauley, ii. 244.

³ Schultz, 79.

⁴ Robins. B. R. i. 272.

brook from a river, and as a conduit into a garden. I said, I will water my best garden; I will water abundantly my garden bed; and lo! my brook became a river, and my river became a sea.”¹ It was at En-rogel, at the south of these gardens, that Adonijah was feasting his partisans when Solomon, mounted on the royal mule, was led down to Gihon, and there anointed king. According to Josephus, Adonijah was carousing “*without the city by the fountain at the royal gardens,*”² that is, by En-rogel; and Solomon was conducted in like manner “*without the city,*” “to the fountain called Gihon,”³ that is, to the lower watercourse of Gihon, the Fountain of the Virgin. The Gihon of Josephus could only be either Siloam or the Fountain of the Virgin; and it was not the former, for Siloam was familiarly known to Josephus, and is always referred to by that name, so that he could scarcely in this place have intended Siloam under the name of Gihon.

Adonijah, then, was saluted as king at the well of En-rogel, and Solomon was anointed king at the next living well higher up the valley, the Fountain of the Virgin; and the two were so near to each other, that the shouts raised by the one company could well reach the ears of the other. The excavated pool, the Fountain of the Virgin, was afterwards known as Solomon’s Pool, and it may have been so called from the inauguration of Solomon there on this occasion.⁴

¹ Ecclus. xxiv. 27.

² ἔξω τῆς πόλεως παρὰ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν ἐν βασιλικῷ παραδείσῳ. — Ant. vii. 14, 4.

³ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην Γιών. — Ant. vii. 14, 5.

⁴ The identity of Gihon with the Valley of Jehoshaphat results also from the fact, that Manasseh built a wall without the city of

Solomon, the successor of David, occupies the same position in the Hebrew monarchy that Augustus, the successor of Cæsar, did in the Roman. The military and political talent of David established the kingdom, and Solomon gathered the fruits. The reign of Solomon was the golden age of the Jewish state. The trade with Arabia and the East Indies by the channel of the Red Sea put him in possession of boundless wealth, and he poured it with profusion upon the rocky sides of Mount Sion, the eastern hill. His principal enterprises were: 1. The Temple; 2. Millo; 3. The Palace; 4. The Walls of Jerusalem.

I. OF THE TEMPLE.

Josephus, in the Wars, his earliest work, and written when he had not made the same deep research into the antiquities of his country that he afterwards did, states that the Inner Temple only, with one cloister, the eastern, was erected by Solomon, and that the other cloisters of the Inner Temple, and the whole of the Outer Temple, were the gradual work of succeeding ages.¹ In the Antiquities, however, when Josephus had more thoroughly investigated the subject, he enters into detail, and there ascribes to Solomon both the Inner and the Outer Temple, with all the cloisters of both.² The site of the Temple was originally the threshing-floor of

David, on the west side of the Valley of Gihon, to the Fish Gate (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14); for, as the Fish Gate lay at the north-east of the city, no wall could have been built to it on the west of any valley except the Valley of Jehoshaphat. (See post.)

¹ τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως Σολομῶνος, ὃς δὴ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἔκτισε, τὸ κατ' ἀνατολὰς μέρος ἐκτειχίσαντος, εἴτ' ἐτέθη μία στοὰ τῷ χώματι, καὶ κατὰ γε τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη γυμνὸς ὁ ναὸς ἦν, etc. — *Bell.* v. 5, 1.

² *Ant.* viii. 3, 1; xv. 11, 3; xx. 9, 7.

Araunah, and the threshing was in the usual Oriental style, i. e. the corn was trodden out by oxen.¹ There must have been from the first therefore a level space of considerable extent, for the oxen to make their rounds. But the Temple was to be no ordinary structure, and, according to Josephus, a greatly enlarged area was obtained by reducing the summit, and erecting walls round the sides with stones of immense size, fastened together with lead², and by then filling up the hollow spaces between the walls and the mount with solid masonry, cramped together with iron.³ There can be little doubt that these immense stones, which even in the days of Josephus are described as “immovable for all time,” are, notwithstanding the successive destructions of the city, still to be seen resting in their adamantine beds, if not elsewhere, at least at the south-west corner of the present Haram.

The space thus enclosed by Solomon being the Outer Temple was a square, each side measuring a stadium, the dimensions which the Outer Temple preserved to the last.⁴ Within the square was another raised platform, and within that another platform still, upon which was the sacred edifice itself. These successive terraces were an imitation of the Assyrian style of architecture, which at that time prevailed more or less all over Syria, and particularly at Tyre. The restoration by Rawlinson of the Assyrian temple called Birs Nimroud⁵, long supposed to be the veritable Tower

¹ 1 Chron. xxi. 23. 2 Sam. xxiv. 22.

² πέτραις μολίβδῳ δεδεμέναις πρὸς ἀλλήλας. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

³ τὰδ' ἐντὸς σιδήρῳ διησφαλισμένα συνέχειν τὰς ἀρμογὰς ἀκινήτους τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

⁴ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τετραγώνου γενομένης. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 3. μήκος δὲ στάδιον. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 5. εἰς τετρακοσίους πήχεις. — *Ant.* viii. 3, 9.

⁵ See Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, vol. i. p. 183.

of Babel, but since proved to have been erected by Nebuchadnezzar, whose name is stamped upon all the bricks, will illustrate, by its successive tiers of ascending rectangles, the external appearance of the Jewish Temple. The capitals of the columns probably more nearly resembled the Corinthian order than any other. Such was indisputably the style of architecture of the Temple in the time of Herod¹; and as it is mentioned that the two brazen columns set up by Solomon at the eastern entrance of the Temple had capitals formed of lilies and pomegranates, they were, we may presume, Corinthian.² The architecture of the palace of Herod was certainly Corinthian³, and could scarcely have differed from that of the Temple, which was immediately contiguous. The site of the Temple square was at the south-west corner of the present Haram Sherîf, as we shall have occasion to explain more at large hereafter.

II. OF MILLO.

The scattered notices upon this subject are not numerous, and it will be convenient to present them to the reader collectively in the first instance.

First, then, the name of Millo⁴ signifies, in Hebrew, the filling up, or embankment; so that, from the force of the word itself, we look around in search of some great earthwork.

Secondly. The construction of Millo must have been

¹ κιονοκράνων αὐτοῖς τὸν Κορίνθιον τρόπον ἐπεξεργασμένων γλυφαῖς. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

² χωνευτὸν δὲ ἐφ' ἑκατέρα κεφαλῇ κρίνον ἐφειστήκει, τὸ ὕψος ἐπὶ πέντε πήχεις ἡγεγερμένον, ᾧ περιέκειτο δίκτυον ἐλάτῃ χαλκείᾳ περιπεπληγμένον τὰ κρίνα. — *Ant.* viii. 3, 4.

³ ἐξεργασμένον δὲ Κορινθίως. — *Ant.* viii. 5, 2.

⁴ מִלּוֹ, from מָלַךְ, implevit.

exceedingly costly, for the levy made upon the kingdom for its construction was one of the sources of disaffection which led eventually to the revolt of the ten tribes under Jeroboam. "And this was the cause that he [Jeroboam] lifted up his hand against the king: Solomon *built Millo, and repaired the breaches of the city of David*, his father."¹

Thirdly. From the way in which, in the last citation, Millo is connected with the breaches of the city of David, i. e. the outer wall of Jerusalem on the eastern hill, it may be inferred that Millo formed part of the *external* defences of the city: and this is almost conclusively shown from a passage in the reign of Hezekiah; for when Sennacherib was advancing against Jerusalem to besiege it, Hezekiah "built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without; and *repaired Millo in the city of David*, and made darts and shields in abundance."²

Fourthly. Millo was also in some way connected with the Temple, for, "Then did he [Solomon] *build Millo*; and three times in a year did he offer burnt-offerings and peace-offerings upon the altar which he built up to the Lord; and he burnt incense upon the altar that was before the Lord; *so he finished the house.*"³ The Temple, therefore, was considered as imperfect until Millo also had been completed.

These features are to be found together in one, and only one, great work, the platform on which stands the Mosque of Omar, called the Haram esh Sherîf. This area is upwards of 1500 feet long from north to south, and upwards of 900 feet broad from east to west. It was evidently at one time surrounded on all sides by a

¹ 1 Kings xi. 27.

² 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

³ 1 Kings ix. 24.

wall of gigantic proportions, which must have rendered it the strongest fortification in Jerusalem.

Huge bevelled stones of Jewish masonry have been traced from the fosse called Bethesda on the north all down the eastern side, and then along the southern, and then up the western side, until it reaches a wall of rock at the north-west corner¹, so that the whole platform was evidently of one uniform design. This, from Solomon downward, was, at the same time, the outwork of the Temple and the Acropolis of the city; the platform and the Temple standing in the same relation to each other at Jerusalem that the Acropolis and the Parthenon did at Athens. In the Chronicles² Millo is rightly translated in the Septuagint, “the raised bulwark of the city of David;”³ and it was, no doubt, identical with “the high embankment of the Temple platform,” mentioned by the Son of Sirach⁴; Josephus also speaks of the Temple as “fenced in with exceeding strength by a stone ambit⁵; and Tacitus describes the Temple as resembling “a citadel with outer walls of its own, in magnitude and finish surpassing all the rest; while the very cloisters which ran round the Temple were a formidable rampart.”⁶ And Dion observes to the same effect, that

¹ The writer of Murray's Handbook for Syria, p. 133, who was admitted into the interior of the Haram, observes: “On reaching the northern end we observe a section of the massive ancient wall on the left,” i. e. at the north-west corner.

² 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

³ τὸ ἀνάλημμα τῆς πόλεως Δαβὶδ. — 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

⁴ ἀνάλημμα ὑψηλὸν περιβόλου ἱεροῦ. — Eccclus. i. 1, 2.

⁵ τὸ ἱερὸν λιθίνῳ περιβόλῳ καρτερῶς πάνυ τετειχισμένον. — Ant. xiv. 4, 1. Bell. i. 7, 1.

⁶ “Templum in modum arcis propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios; ipsæ porticus, quæ templum ambiebatur, egregium propugnaculum.” — Tac. Hist. v. 12.

the Temple was erected on an eminence, and secured by a bulwark of its own.¹

The space within the Haram has a slight inclination from north-west to south-east. The rock has been cut away at the south-east corner where the fall is greatest, and the ground has been raised by vaults; and at the south-west corner is a solid mass of earthwork, which was, no doubt, intended to sustain the superincumbent weight of the Temple above, and to resist the pressure of the vast bridge abutting upon it from the west. To judge how exactly this artificial plateau answers to the description of Millo, or the Embankment, we must advert to some of the details. At the south-east angle the wall is 77 feet high on the exterior², and on the interior is first a wall (say) 12 feet high above the general level of the Haram; and underfoot is a space of about 5 feet in depth of earth; and then come the vaults, about 30 feet in depth, and the rest, more than 30 feet of further depth, is either the rock escarped or solid masonry. In other parts the height of the outer wall of the Haram varies with the nature of the ground, but the average is about 50 feet, and on the interior the height is from 12 to 15 feet; so that the embankment, or escarpment, is in general upwards of 35 feet. At the south-west corner is still to be seen the fragment of an arch reaching along the wall 51 feet, and which, when perfect, had a span of 41 feet, and was the first only of a series of arches (say five or six), carrying a grand viaduct from the Temple mount to the High Town, a

¹ ἐπὶ γε γὰρ μετεώρου ἦν καὶ περιβόλῳ ἰδίῳ ὠχύρωτο. — *Dion.* xxxvii. 16.

² See view of the south-east corner from the east, in Traill's Josephus, xxxi., and from the south, *ib.* xxxii.

distance of 350 feet.¹ On the north of the plateau is the Pool of Bethesda, the greatest fosse known, which, so far as it reaches, must effectually have cut off all communication from the north. It is still 75 feet deep, and 130 feet wide. At present the fosse extends only 460 feet, or less than half way along the northern side of the Haram², but anciently it may have reached much further, or there may have been another corresponding fosse, since filled up, on the west. More probably, however, at the north-west corner stood the high rock on which was afterwards erected the Macedonian Acra ; so that any outer fosse in that part would be unnecessary.

If we could only picture to ourselves this vast plateau as it stood in the days of Solomon, the walls towering upward from 40 to 80 feet, and composed of massive stones cut into panels, and so nicely fitted together as to resemble one solid rock ; with the magnificent viaduct stretching across the deep valley of the Tyropœon, from the south-west corner of the Temple to the High Town, and the gulf of the great fosse on the north ; we should at once confess that only the wealth of Solomon could have accomplished so prodigious an undertaking.

Traces of the hand of Solomon are to be found in many features of this great work. Thus we know that the style of architecture adopted by Solomon was the Assyrian, which abounded in just such raised terraces as those of the Temple platform ; not only so, but further, the architects employed by Solomon were those of Tyre, where the Assyrian taste prevailed, and terrace-work was much in vogue. Indeed Josephus has preserved some curious extracts from the Tyrian archives

¹ See Robins. B. R. i. 288. Barclay, 102.

² Robins. B. R. i. 293.

relating to that very period, and they so exactly describe the Temple platform, with its viaduct to the High Town, that we can scarcely believe that the words do not refer to the labours of Solomon, not of a king of Tyre. "On the death of Abibal," writes Menander, who translated the archives into Greek, "his son Hiram succeeded to the kingdom. *He cast up the broad plateau* (τὸ εὐρυχώρον) . . . and cut a quantity of *timber on Mount Libanon* for the roofs of the *Temples*." And Dios thus: "On the death of Abibal, his son Hiram was king. He *embanked the eastern parts of the city*, and gave it greater extent; and having made a *viaduct across the intervening space*, joined the *Temple of Jupiter Olympius*, which had stood by itself, *to the city*."¹ Again, the stones which still form the ancient foundations of the outer wall of the plateau are all bevelled, i. e. where they are joined a square channel or groove has been cut along the edges half an inch or more in depth, and one or two inches or more in width²; and this character is found frequently in ancient buildings in Assyria³, and at Tyre⁴, but seldom elsewhere. When again we examine the vaults at the south-east corner, we observe all the supporting columns to be both bevelled and square⁵; and we are told, both by Scripture and Josephus, that the pillars in the Palace of Solomon were not round, but square.⁶ And if the walls and south-eastern substructions were the work of Solomon, we must also attribute to him the viaduct or bridge at the south-west corner, for the massive stones which form the abutment of the arch are evidently

¹ Ant. viii. 5, 3.

² Barclay, 494.

³ Fergusson's Handb. Arch. 187, 188.

⁴ Robins. B. R. iii. 229.

⁵ See view of them, Bartlett's Jerus. 157. Barclay, 504.

⁶ 1 Kings vii. 5. Ant. viii. 5, 2.

part of the original wall. It need not surprise us that the arch should be found in an edifice of that age, for the "Pools of Solomon" were unquestionably constructed by him¹; and there also we find the use of the arch. Indeed, recent discoveries have established the fact, that the arch was employed in building both in the days of Nineveh² and in the still more remote times of the early Egyptian dynasties.

That the great fosse at the north of the Haram was excavated by Solomon we should conclude from the circumstance that no other king of Israel could have had the opportunity or means of executing so costly a work. There was certainly a great fosse in that quarter long before the time of Herod, for Strabo makes particular mention of it in the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey.³

III. OF THE PALACE OF SOLOMON.

We have no account of the erection of a palace by any other king of Judah than Solomon, and we may, therefore, assume that the gorgeous structure built by him was that occupied by his successors. That such was the fact, may be collected from the following incident.⁴

Solomon had made 400 targets and 300 shields all of beaten gold, which were kept in his own palace, the

¹ Barclay, 102.

² Robins. iii. 229.

³ Strabo, xvi. 2.

⁴ Krafft (p. 114) places the Palace of Solomon at the north-east corner of Pseudo-Sion, and quotes Josephus as an authority that the Palace was opposite the Temple: ἀντικρυς ἔχων ναόν (Ant. viii. 5, 2). But this is quite a mistake. Josephus says only that the Palace had attached to it "a Temple," in which Solomon sat for the trial of causes. *The Temple* is not at all alluded to.

House of Lebanon.¹ But in the reign of Rehoboam his son, Shishak king of Egypt took Jerusalem, and carried away “the treasures of *the king's house*; he took all: he carried away also the shields of gold. Instead of which King Rehoboam made *shields of brass*, and committed them to the hands of the chief of the guard that kept the *entrance of the king's house*; and when the king entered into the house of the Lord, the guard came and fetched them, and brought them again into the guard-chamber.”² In other words, Solomon, on ascending the Temple in state, was attended by a body-guard carrying these golden shields, which were kept in his palace in the House of Lebanon; and now when the brazen shields were substituted, the latter also were lodged “with the chief of the guard that kept the entrance of the king's house;” and as the brazen shields were, no doubt, laid up where the golden shields had been before, the inference is, that the House of Lebanon, or Solomon's Palace, and the King's House, the palace of his successors, were identical.

Where, then, did the King's House stand? We may remark, in the first place, that the Scriptures, in speaking of the Palace and the Temple, invariably say, “*to go down*” from the house of the Lord to the king's house, and “*to go up*” from the king's house to the house of the Lord³, so that as the slope of the eastern ridge runs from north to south, the Palace was certainly to the south of the Temple.⁴

¹ 2 Chron. ix. 16.

² 2 Chron. xii. 9. 1 Kings xiv. 26.

³ Jer. xxii. 1; xxvi. 10; xxxvi. 12. 2 Chron. viii. 11; ix. 4. 1 Kings viii. 1, 4.

⁴ For this we have also the authority of Brocardus, who wrote about A. D. 1283: “Palatium Salomonis, quod ædificatum fuit in parte australi montis Moria.”—c. 8.

But the site of the Palace may be further ascertained from other passages of Scripture, and particularly from an episode in the history of Joash.

Jehoram, king of Judah, married Athaliah, daughter of the wicked Ahab, king of Israel. Ahaziah, the fruit of this marriage, was thus, by descent, brought into intimacy with Joram, king of Israel, and became his ally in the war against Hazael, king of Syria. They both suffered a defeat, and Jehu thereupon revolted against the king of Israel, and Joram and Ahaziah were slain. No sooner were the tidings of this carried to Jerusalem, than Athaliah the queen-mother snatched at the opportunity of seating herself on the throne, and for this purpose attempted the utter extirpation of the royal stock by assassination. One child alone escaped, viz. Joash, the infant son of Ahaziah, who was secreted by Jehoiada the high priest for six years. At the expiration of that time, Jehoiada assembled the chiefs of the nation into the Temple, and there produced Joash, when steps were taken for proclaiming him king of Judah. The distribution of the armed force collected by Jehoiada is given differently in the Kings, and in the Chronicles, and in Josephus, but the most intelligible account is that in the Chronicles, according to which the Levites who entered upon their duties on the Sabbath to the relief of those who went out, were one third part “porters of the doors,” that is, guarded the entrances of the Outer Temple; another third part was “at the king’s house,” by which Josephus understands the Temple gate leading to the king’s house¹, and the remaining third part was at the “gate of the foundation,” i. e. the gate leading to the Inner

¹ τῆς ἀνοιγομένης καὶ φερούσης εἰς τὸ βασιλεῖον πύλης. — *Ant.* ix. 7, 2.

Temple, from the substructions at the east of the Temple, and by which the victims were brought up to the altar.¹ Athaliah from her palace heard the shouts of the people, and rushed to the Temple; but Jehoiada had laid his plans with foresight, and Athaliah was admitted, while her guard were excluded. On seeing Joash upon the royal stand, and in the robes of state, Athaliah, like another Jezebel, and with a spirit worthy of a better cause, cried Treason! Treason! and attempted, but in vain, to raise a party in her favour. Only the adherents of Jehoiada were present, and Athaliah was seized and forced out of the Temple. “They laid hands on her, and she went *by the way by the which the horses came into the king’s house*, and there she was slain and they slew Athaliah with the sword *beside the king’s house*.”² “And they brought *down* the king [Joash] from the house of the Lord, and came *by the way of the gate of the guard to the king’s house*, and he sat on the throne of the kings.”³ Athaliah was probably carried out of the Temple by the road which descended to the substructions, and was then thrust out of the Temple gate, the entrance to the substructions, and there slain before the Horse gate. As Athaliah was despatched at “the *horse gate*,” “beside the *king’s house*,” the Palace and the Horse gate must have been contiguous;

¹ The parallel passages run thus:—

2 KINGS xi.	2 CHRON. xxiii.	Jos. Art. ix. 7.
$\frac{1}{3}$ are “keepers of the watch of the king’s house.”	$\frac{1}{3}$ “at the king’s house.”	$\frac{1}{3}$ at the gate leading to the king’s house.
$\frac{1}{3}$ “at the gate of Sur.”	$\frac{1}{3}$ “at the gate of the foundation.”	$\frac{1}{3}$ at the doors of the outer Temple.
$\frac{1}{3}$ “at the gate behind the guard.”	$\frac{1}{3}$ “porters of the doors.”	$\frac{1}{3}$ in the Temple itself, as a guard to the king.

² 2 Kings xvi. 20.

³ 2 Kings xi. 19.

and the Horse gate was, without question, the gate which stood in the city wall, just south of the point where the city wall ran up to the southern wall of the Temple enclosure. Why it was called the Horse gate it is not difficult to conjecture. Of the 4000, or (as another text has it) the 40,000, horses maintained by Solomon, a great part was necessarily kept at Jerusalem; and where could be the stables but in the vast vaults which still exist under the south-east corner of the Haram? Whatever may be the date of the arches above, the square bevelled pillars supporting the roof may be referred to Solomon. In the time of the Crusaders they were still called Solomon's stables.¹ The Prison also which stood at the south of the Temple was, from its connection with these stables, called the Hippodrome, or race-course², being, no doubt, "the prison which was in the king of Judah's house," where the prophet Jeremiah was incarcerated.³

From another chapter in the history of Joash, we learn not only the situation of the Palace, but also the proper name of it. In the latter days of his reign he was overtaken by severe sickness, and "his own servants conspired against him and slew him *on his bed*⁴ in the *house of Millo* [or in *Bethmillo*], *which goeth down to Silla*."⁵ The Palace, therefore, was called Bethmillo, a name which it would naturally bear as adjoining Millo, the great plateau on which stood the Temple. The Hebrew words rendered in the Authorised Version, "which goeth down to Silla," have been variously interpreted. According to some they mean, "as he

¹ Barclay, 367. Robins. B. R. i. 302.

² Bell. ii. 3, 1.

³ Jer. xxxii. 2.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxiv. 25.

⁵ 2 Kings xii. 20.

[Joash] was going down to Silla," and they suppose that Bethmillo lay on the road to Silla, which may have been some town or village in the neighbourhood; but evidently Joash was residing in the royal palace in Jerusalem, and Silla, therefore, must have been some place in the city. It is almost unnecessary to remark that Silla has no relation to Siloam, the initial letter of the two words being different in Hebrew, though the same in English. According to its etymology, Silla is a *chaussée*, or causey¹, and apparently was the road leading from the Palace westward down to the king's gardens in the Tyropœon Valley. Zedekiah no doubt descended by it when he fled "by the way of the king's garden, by the gate between the two walls."² But if Joash was assassinated as he was going down Silla, or the causey, from the Palace to the king's gardens, how are we to explain the words, "they slew him on his bed?" The Hebrew term translated "bed" signifies not so much a bed as a litter for carrying the sick.³ The passage should have been rendered thus: "They slew him on his litter, as he was going down Silla," the causey from the Palace to the king's gardens.

At the south of the Haram is a rectangular level space, 290 feet north and south, and 325 feet east and west,

¹ "סִלָּא *via aggesta et munita*."—*Simon's Hebr. Lex.* The causey leading from Shallecheth, one of the western gates of the Temple, down into the valley, was also called with little variation *mesilla* (מִסְלָא). 1 Chron. xxvi. 15, 18. Both *silla* and *mesilla* may be translated stairs as well as causey (see *Simon's Hebr. Lex.*); and the former is perhaps the more likely interpretation, as we know from Josephus that one at least of the western gates of the Temple led down to the valley and up again by steps. Ant. xv. 11, 5.

² Jer. xxxix. 4. 2 Kings xxv. 4.

³ "מִטָּה *lectica, sella gestatoria*."—*Simon's Hebr. Lex.*

inclosed by the Haram wall on the north, and by the city wall on the east and south ; and the southern wall on the interior is very low, while on the exterior it is 50 feet high ; thus showing an embankment or solid mass of masonry, or earthwork, of very great depth.¹ That the Palace was contiguous to the Temple may be collected from a remarkable passage in the Prophet Ezekiel : “ And he said unto me, Son of man, the place of my throne, and the place of the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever, and my holy name, shall the house of Israel no more defile, neither they nor their kings . . . *in their setting of their threshold by my thresholds, and their post by my posts, and the wall between me and them.*”² As the Temple stood at the south-west corner of the present Haram, the Palace, if immediately below it upon the quadrangular area now the garden of El Aksa, would tally exactly with the prophet’s language, for the Temple and Palace would thus be separated only by an intervening wall.

The component parts of the Palace are not easily followed, but it would seem that it consisted, first, of the Grand Hall, called the House of the Forest of Lebanon, facing the east and fronting the Horse Gate ; and behind that, westward, was a great court formed at the sides by the Porch of Pillars on the one hand, and the Porch of Judgment on the other ; and at the back towards the west was the royal residence, in two compartments ; one the House of Solomon, and the other the House of Pharaoh’s daughter, the queen. The House of Lebanon, which lay north and south, was the post of the guard whence Joash is said to

¹ Robins. B. R. i. 285, 238.

² Ezek. xliii. 7.

have entered the Palace by the Gate of the Guard¹, called elsewhere the High Gate.²

The House of Lebanon, as it was the front of the Palace, and under its stately portico was the royal approach, is apostrophised by Jeremiah as the Palace itself, in his prediction of the destruction of the royal edifice: "Thus saith the Lord, Go *down* [i. e. from the Temple, where the prophet was] to the house of the king of Judah, and there speak this word. . . . If ye do this thing, then shall there enter in by the gates of this house kings sitting upon the throne of David, *riding in chariots and on horses*, he, and his servants, and his people. . . . Thus saith the Lord unto the king's house of Judah: Thou art Gilead unto me, and the *head of Lebanon*. . . . Yet surely they shall cut down *thy choice cedars*, and cast them into the fire. . . . O inhabitant of Lebanon [Jehoiakim], that *makest thy nest in the cedars*, how gracious thou shalt be when pangs come upon thee, as of a woman in travail!"³ How appropriate is this language, as addressed to the king who was dwelling in the House of the Forest of Lebanon, or rather in the Palace of which this house was the imposing façade!

The greatest light thrown upon the architectural character of the Palace of Solomon is derived from the recent discoveries in and near Nineveh. Take, for instance, the north-west Palace of Nimroud, which would almost seem to have been the pattern after which the royal palace at Jerusalem was built.⁴ Thus the Nimroud Palace is nearly a square, of about 330 feet each way, and the area of Solomon's Palace is 325 feet by 290 feet. In front

¹ 2 Kings xi. 19.

² 2 Chron. xxiii. 20.

³ Jer. xxii. 1.

⁴ See Fergusson's Handbook of Archit. 165.

at Nimroud was a great hall, 152 feet long by 32 feet wide ; and in front, at Jerusalem, was a hall, the House of Lebanon, 150 feet by 75 feet.¹ The halls at Nimroud were supported by rows of pillars, not of stone, but of wood², and the Hall of Lebanon was supported by 3 rows³ of cedar pillars, 15 in a row, making 45 in the whole.⁴ In the centre, at Nimroud, was a spacious open court ; and in the centre at Jerusalem was also a court.⁵ On the sides, at Nimroud, were suites of apartments three deep, decreasing in width as they receded from the light supplied from the great court ; and at Jerusalem were windows in three rows, and light against light in three ranks.⁶ At Nimroud, in the rear was a double suite of apartments ; and in the rear at Jerusalem were the separate suites of the king and the queen.⁷ At Nimroud the interior walls were lined with sculptured slabs ; and at Jerusalem the apartments were also wainscoted with stones carved in imitation of trees and plants.⁸

The Palace of Solomon was below the Temple platform, and in laying the solid foundations of Millo, provision had been made for a double passage from the Palace to the Temple, about 250 feet long and 42 feet wide. It was formed of bevelled stones to imitate paneling, and rose by a gentle incline, through the heart of the mass to one of the gates of the Temple.⁹ This marvellous subterranean approach, impregnable from its nature to the ravages of time, still remains, though

¹ 1 Kings vii. 2.

² Fergusson's Handbook of Archit. 188.

³ In the Vulgate four rows; a mistake which is corrected by the Septuagint.

⁴ 1 Kings vii. 2, 3.

⁵ 1 Kings vii. 8.

⁶ 1 Kings vii. 4.

⁷ 1 Kings vii. 8.

⁸ Jos. Ant. vii. 5, 2.

⁹ See a description more in detail, post.

it has been painfully disfigured and disguised by successive temple-wardens, church-wardens, and mosque-wardens. It is called to this day the Temple of Solomon, and here, if anywhere, a genuine relic of that famous monarch may be seen. The entrance to it is some fifteen or twenty feet above the level of the ground without¹, and a flight of steps must originally have led up to it. The Assyrian architecture was remarkable for the prominence and splendour of its flights of steps²; and Solomon, who studiously copied the Assyrian style, no doubt invested this grand approach to the Temple with the most profuse ornament. This is the "ascent by which Solomon went up to the house of the Lord," which, when the Queen of Sheba saw, "there was no more spirit in her."³ The subterranean passage terminated in the inner court, at the tribune or rostrum set apart for the kings. It was by that long gallery that Solomon ascended to the Temple, and from this royal Bema that he pronounced the prayer at the dedication: "For Solomon had made a brazen scaffold [or rostrum], of five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high, in the midst of the court; and he kneeled down before all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands towards heaven, and said," &c.⁴ This scaffold, or pulpit, of five feet square, and four and a half feet high, is elsewhere translated a pillar or pedestal. Thus, when the Temple had been filled by Jehoiada's adherents, and the high-spirited Athaliah, rushing out of her palace, mounted up to the Temple, and dared, without a

¹ Robins. B. R. i. 305.

² Fergusson's Handbook of Archit. 190.

³ 1 Kings x. 5. 2 Chron. ix. 4.

⁴ 2 Chron. vi. 13.

single guard at her side, to throw herself at once into the midst of her enemies, she was astounded on seeing Joash at the post of royalty; “and she looked, and behold the king stood at his pillar at the entering in;”¹ or, as Josephus paraphrases it, and she saw the lad standing *upon the pillar*, i. e. the platform of royalty.² This brazen Bema was afterwards sacrilegiously removed by King Ahaz and presented to Tiglath-Pileser, in the vain hope of buying succour from him; “and the king’s entry [the rostrum at the end of the gallery] without [the sanctuary] turned he from the house of the Lord, for the king of Assyria.”³

IV. OF THE WALLS OF SOLOMON.

The High Town on the west, and the Low Town on the east, had originally each been surrounded by separate lines of fortification; but, as we have seen, when David became master of both, he built from Millo round about, i. e. from the north-west corner of the present Haram towards the north-west and then southward to the wall of the High Town, and also “inward,” or to the south, across the Valley of the Tyropeon, so as thus to blend the High Town and Low Town into one city. When, therefore, it is said⁴ that Solomon, the successor of David, built “the wall of Jerusalem round about,” it can only be meant that he repaired and amplified the walls which had previously existed. In the same manner Solomon did not build, but “repaired the breaches of the city of David,”⁵—

¹ 2 Chron. xxiii. 13. 2 Kings xxiii. 3.

² ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης ἐστῶτα.—*Ant.* ix. 7, 3.

⁴ 1 Kings iii. 1.

³ 2 Kings xvi. 18.

⁵ 1 Kings xi. 27.

that is, he enlarged and improved the walls erected by David his father. Such is the gloss of Josephus, for he writes that Solomon, "having repaired the walls of Jerusalem, made them much greater and stronger than they were before;"¹ and adds that Solomon erected towers also, so as to make the line of defences worthy of the monarch who resided within them.²

On the death of Solomon, a deputation waited on his son Rehoboam, on the subject of the heavy imposts which his father had levied; and when the young hot-headed prince returned the hasty and impolitic answer, that "his little finger should be thicker than his father's loins," the ten tribes, with Jeroboam at their head, broke out into open revolt.

From this time to the destruction of the city by Nebuchadnezzar, the house of Judah was constantly engaged either in civil wars with the house of Israel, or in defending itself against the inroads of the Chaldees and Egyptians. There was neither leisure nor treasure for the decoration or improvement of Jerusalem; but the kings employed all their thoughts and means upon the safety of themselves and their people. With the exception of the high gate of the Temple, erected by Jotham, in the place where afterwards stood the Corinthian or Beautiful gate³, all the works taken in hand by the kings, from Solomon to Zedekiah, were either for the repair of the walls, or the increase of the towers, or the supply of water against a siege. The

¹ καὶ κατασκευάσας τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πολλῶ μείζω καὶ ὀχυρώτερα τῶν πρόσθεν ὄντων, &c. — *Ant.* viii. 2, 1.

² ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔώρα τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τεῖχη ὁ βασιλεὺς πύργων πρὸς ἀσφαλείᾳ δεόμενα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὀχυρώτητος, etc. — *Ant.* viii. 6, 1.

³ 2 Kings xv. 35. 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.

topographical notices, even of this kind, are few and far between, and are soon enumerated.

Amaziah, king of Judah, was successful against the Edomites, and, puffed up by his good fortune, was emboldened to challenge Jehoash, king of Israel, to a trial of strength. Amaziah was defeated in battle and taken captive, and Jehoash possessed himself of Jerusalem. Amaziah was suffered to remain on the throne, but the king of Israel left him in a helpless plight, by "breaking down the wall of Jerusalem, from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate, 400 cubits."¹ A corner may be either a reentering or a projecting angle; and while in English the word "corner" is used to express both, in Hebrew a projecting angle has an appropriate and peculiar term; and in the present instance, by "corner" must be understood exclusively a projecting angle. What, then, was the position of this Corner gate? We have some clue to it from more than one notice of it in the Prophets.

Jeremiah, in order to encourage Judah during the captivity, predicts that Jerusalem should again be inhabited, and that the borders of it should even be extended. "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord from the tower of Hananeel *unto the gate of the corner* [external]; and the measuring line shall yet go forth over against it upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath. And the whole valley of the dead bodies, and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook Kedron, unto the *horse gate* toward the east, shall be holy unto the Lord."² The tower of Hananeel, there can be little doubt, stood at the north-west corner of the Temple inclosure, and probably

¹ 2 Kings xiv. 13. 2 Chron. xxv. 23.

² Jer. xxxi. 38.

occupied the site of the fortress known in after ages by the name of Acra. The gate of the corner which is opposed to it would therefore stand at the north-west corner of the city. The sense of the whole passage is, that Jerusalem should be restored to its old limits in breadth, from Hananeel at the north-west corner of the Temple inclosure, to the Corner gate at the north-west corner of the city; and not only so, but that it should spread itself on the north over Gareb or Bezetha, on the west over Goath or Golgotha (the hill which lay along the western limb of the second wall), on the south to the Valley of Hinnom, famous for its sepulchres and idolatrous sacrifices, and on the east to the corner next the Horse gate, which, at the south-east angle of the Temple, overlooked the Valley of Kedron. Thus the prophet completes the circle from the north-west corner of the Temple until he reaches the sanctuary again at the south-east corner of it; a prophecy which received its fulfilment in the days of Agrippa, who, in A.D. 43, erected the third wall, and so inclosed both Gareb and Golgotha.

The Corner gate is also mentioned by the prophet Zechariah: "It [Jerusalem] shall be lifted up and inhabited in her place, from Benjamin's gate unto the place of the first gate, unto the *corner gate*, and from the tower of Hananeel unto the king's winepresses."¹ Benjamin's gate was on the east side of the city², and at the north of the Temple platform³; and Hananeel was the tower at the north-west of the Temple inclosure, and the king's winepresses were in the king's gardens at the south-east of the city by Siloam. The prophet, therefore, gives first the breadth of the city by the gates, viz. from

¹ Zech. xiv. 10.² Jer. xx. 2.³ Ezek. ix. 2.

London: T. Agnew & Sons

Benjamin's gate on the north-east¹ to the Corner gate at the north-west angle of the city; and then the length of the eastern side by the towers, viz. from the tower of Hananeel on the north to the king's winepresses on the south.

From these references, we may conclude that the 400 cubits of wall broken down in the time of Amaziah by Jehoash, from the Corner gate to the Gate of Ephraim were 400 cubits from the north-west corner of the city along the western side, as far as another gate called the Gate of Ephraim.²

Amaziah was succeeded by his son Uzziah, who "built towers in Jerusalem at the *corner gate*, and at the *valley gate*, and at the *turning of the wall*, and fortified them."³ The Valley gate was certainly at the north-west corner of the High Town, now the Jaffa gate, and the Corner

¹ Benjamin's gate was not quite at the north-east corner, but there was no other gate, or at least none of importance, beyond it toward the east.

² It deserves notice, that the Gate of Ephraim and the Corner gate were only 400 cubits, or 600 feet, apart, so that the great number of gates in Jerusalem must not lead us to infer that the city had therefore a large circuit. Jerusalem, before the extension of it by Agrippa, appears to have had twelve gates (the number of the tribes of Israel, and after which they may have been named); and, unless the intervals between the other gates were much greater than that between the Corner gate and the Gate of Ephraim, the ambit of Jerusalem must have been small indeed. The twelve gates were: 1. Benjamin's gate, now Bab Hotta; 2. Fish gate, at or near the Arch of Ecce Homo; 3. Old gate, in Asmonean Valley; 4. Corner gate, at north-west corner; 5. Gate of Ephraim, in the western wall; 6. Valley gate (Jaffa); 7. Dung gate, at south-west corner; 8. Potter's gate, on the south, opposite the Potter's field; 9. Fountain gate, leading down to Siloam from Pseudo-Sion; 10. Gate in Tyropœon Valley, "between the two walls" (Jer. xxxix. 4. 2 Kings xxv. 4); 11. Horse gate; 12. Miphkad, or Golden gate.

³ 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

gate was, as we have seen, at the north-west corner of the city; and, as the "turning of the wall" in Hebrew may mean either a projecting or reentering angle, we may suppose that Uzziah now strengthened the city by erecting towers at the three angles, viz. first at the Valley, or Jaffa gate; secondly, at the north-west corner, or the Corner gate; and thirdly, at the turning of the wall, at the north-east corner, by the Fish gate. But if by "the turning of the wall" be understood a reentering angle, the third tower must be placed at the point where the second wall started northward from the north wall of Pseudo-Sion.

After Uzziah followed his son Jotham, of whom it is said that "on the wall of Ophel he built much."¹ Ophel had been fortified by David and Solomon, and now again Jotham gave it additional strength. The royal palace stood there, and the royal safety was first to be secured.

Jotham was succeeded by his son Ahaz, who was threatened by the allied forces of Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, "and it was told the house of David, Syria is confederate with Ephraim. And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind."² As the army of the two potentates approached Jerusalem, Ahaz personally went out of the gates to reconnoitre, when the word of the Lord came to Isaiah in the Temple: "Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou, and Shearjashub thy son, at the *end of the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field*; and say unto him, Take heed, and be quiet; fear not, neither be faint-hearted for the two tails of these smoking firebrands,"³

¹ 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.

² Is. vii. 2.

³ Is. vii. 3.

&c. The upper pool here spoken of was that also called the Dragon Pool, or as Josephus renders the Hebrew word (signifying either dragon or serpent¹), the Serpent Pool², now Birket Mamilla. It stands to the north-west of the Jaffa gate, at the head of the Valley of Hinnom. Lower down in the same valley, about half-way between the Jaffa gate and the south-west corner of the city, is another ancient pool, called Birket Sultan. From the Dragon, or Serpent, Pool the water was conveyed by a conduit to the Valley gate, now the Jaffa gate, and so supplied the fountain mentioned in Nehemiah as the dragon fountain³ (mistranslated the dragon *well*).⁴ The Valley gate opened upon three roads: one south-west to Bethlehem, another west to Bethshemesh, and a third north-west to Jaffa. The last was called the Highway of the Fuller's field, as it skirted the field which lay between it and the western limb of the second well. The Fuller's field gave rise to the gate afterwards known as Porta Villæ Fullonis, situate at the north-west corner of the city as enlarged by Agrippa⁵, and has no reference to the Fuller's monument at the north-east corner of the city.⁶ The Fuller's field on the north-west was the highest ground in the neighbourhood of the walls, and was almost invariably occupied by an invading enemy. Here encamped the Assyrians, whence it was afterwards called the Assyrian Camp; and here in later times Cestius, and afterwards Titus; and here also Tancred, in the days of the Crusaders. The directions to Isaiah were therefore very

¹ "תנין draco, serpens magnus, serpens quivis." — *Simon's Hebr. Lex.*

² Bell. v. 3, 2.

³ עין התנין.

⁴ Neh. ii. 13.

⁵ Tobler, Top. i. 161, 166. Robins. i. 321.

⁶ Bell. v. 4, 2.

precise, viz. that the prophet should find Ahaz *at the end of the conduit* from the Dragon Pool, *on the road to Jaffa* by the *Fuller's field*.

Ahaz was succeeded by his son Hezekiah, whose reign forms an important epoch in the history of Jerusalem. The works of Hezekiah were all of a defensive character, and prompted by the hourly expected invasion of Sennacherib, king of Assyria. They were:—
 1. “The stopping of all the fountains and the brooks that ran through the midst of the land.”¹ 2. “He also stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David.”²
 3. “He gathered together the waters of the lower pool;”³ or, as it is expressed elsewhere, “He made a pool and a conduit, and brought water into the city.”⁴
 4. “He made a ditch [or reservoir] between the two walls for the water of the old pool.”⁵ 5. “He built up the wall that was broken down, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without,”⁶ and “repaired the breaches of the city of David,”⁷ and “Millo in the city of David.”⁸

1. Of the stopping of the Fountains and Brook.

For this purpose “there was gathered *much people* together,”⁹ so that evidently the operation was one of great magnitude, and extended to some distance from Jerusalem. The account of Aristeas is that the environs of Jerusalem were underlaid with pipes for the distance of five furlongs from the city.¹⁰ However this may be, it is probable that before the diversion by

¹ 2 Chron. xxxii. 4.

³ Is. xxii. 9.

⁵ Is. xxii. 11.

⁷ Isa. xxxii. 9.

⁹ 2 Chron. xxxii. 4.

² 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

⁴ 2 Kings xx. 20.

⁶ 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

⁸ 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

¹⁰ Barclay, 297.

Hezekiah there was a permanent running stream along the Valley of Jehoshaphat, whence the name of "the Brook;" and the mysterious way in which water is supplied to En-rogel, the well at the junction of the three valleys of Jehoshaphat, Tyropœon, and Hinnom, may be referred to the same agency.

2. "Hezekiah also stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David."¹

We have seen that Gihon was the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and we have therefore to look in it for the upper and lower watercourse of Gihon. In all Jerusalem, and the immediate vicinity, the only living waters are the intermittent spring and well, which we shall refer to presently, at the north-east bend of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; a well in Jerusalem itself, called Hammâm es Shefa, 125½ feet to the west of the Haram, nearly opposite the Mosque of Omar²; the Fountain of the Virgin, diverted to Siloam; and the well of En-rogel at the junction of the valleys Jehoshaphat, Tyropœon, and Hinnom. As Hezekiah brought the upper watercourse of Gihon to the west side of the city of David, i. e. of Sion, the eastern hill; and the Fountain of the Virgin has been conveyed by an artificial channel in a westerly direction to Siloam; it might be supposed, at first sight, that En-rogel, though strictly a well, was the lower watercourse of Gihon, and that the Fountain of the Virgin was the upper watercourse, and diverted by Hezekiah to Siloam. However, this hypothesis cannot be sustained, for Isaiah, in the time of Ahaz the predecessor of Hezekiah, speaks of the people as even then "refusing the waters of Shiloah that go softly, and re-

¹ 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

² Barclay, 528.

joining in Rezin and Remaliah's son." ¹ Not only so, but Isaiah, alluding to the military preparations of Hezekiah against the Chaldeans, writes: "Ye made also a ditch [or reservoir] between the two walls for the water of the *old pool*: but ye have not looked unto the maker thereof, neither had respect unto him that fashioned it *long ago*." ² And there can be no doubt that the reservoir here referred to was that constructed by Hezekiah between the two walls of Ophel and the High Town, to receive the waters of Siloam. And if so, the Pool of Siloam, here described as the old pool, could not have been formed for the first time by Hezekiah himself. Indeed, as the prophet appears to reproach Hezekiah for being solely occupied in warlike defences, instead of taking the pious David, the founder of the dynasty, for his example, we may infer that the person referred to as the maker of the conduit from the Fountain of the Virgin was David himself. The Upper Gihon was, therefore, not the Fountain of the Virgin; and if so, we may safely assume it to have been the Lower Gihon, and then the Upper watercourse must be looked for further north. As the spring itself was stopped or sealed by Hezekiah, we can scarcely expect to find the fountain-head; but as Hezekiah brought it down westwards into the city of David³, we should rather search for the outflow in Jerusalem itself, and the well of living water in the city at Hammâm es Shefa answers to the description.⁴ This well, 82½ feet deep, has long been, and still is, a subject of mystery. It was first explored in 1842 by Dr. Wolcott, and was found to be sunk through the rock, and at the bottom was a vaulted channel traced to the distance of 80 feet; but he had

¹ Is. viii. 6.

² Is. xxii. 11.

³ 2 Chron. xxii. 30.

⁴ See plan of this excavation in Barclay, 534.

injured his compass in the descent, and could not ascertain the direction of the duct. In 1846 it was again explored by Dr. Tobler, who determined the direction of the excavation to be southward, and followed it somewhat further than his predecessor, and until he arrived at a circular basin about 100 feet to the south of the well mouth, where the channel became impassable. It has since been visited by Dr. Barclay, but who has not penetrated beyond the circular basin. The local information states that the underground passage runs considerably beyond the basin, perhaps for another 100 feet. Water in great quantities is raised from this well, particularly on Friday, the Turkish sabbath, and yet the supply is never exhausted. The water is clear and free from the impurities of rain water, and resembles in taste the Fountain of Siloam.¹ Whence then comes this inscrutable and never-ceasing supply? Some, as Williams, think it is conveyed thither from the north. But Robinson observes that there is no trace to be found there of any living water², nor is it very likely that a spring should ever have been found on the high ground on the north of Jerusalem, when the deep Valley of Jehoshaphat was close at hand to drain it off. Can it then flow from the west? But neither on this side is there any living water at the present day. The Pools of Mamilla and Hezekiah are both fed by surface water only, and have no spring³; nor, if the Hammâm es Shefa be the upper watercourse of Hezekiah, could it possibly have come from the west, as it is expressly said that Hezekiah brought it westwards and not eastwards into the city of David. Neither can it come from the south,

¹ Barclay, 528.

² Rob. iii. 244.

³ Tobl. Topogr. ii. 61. Thrupp, 92.

where is the Valley of the Tyropœon, for then it would have been in the city already without any artificial diversion, and in that case it would not have answered the purpose of Hezekiah to change its course; for his object was, when in fear of invasion, to withdraw the water from the enemy, and make it available within the city. The only quarter, therefore, from which the supply could come was from the east; and in the Valley of Jehoshaphat,—the natural drain of the surrounding heights,—was no doubt originally to be seen the upper watercourse of Gihon. Here on the south is the well of En-rogel, and here, higher up, is the Fountain of the Virgin, and higher up still was once the Upper Gihon.

The great depth of the well of the Hammâm, $82\frac{1}{2}$ feet, may enable us to draw some further inferences. Had the water come from the north or west, why unnecessarily make so deep an excavation through the hard rock? But if it was brought from the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the depth of the well would depend on the level of the spring-head in the adjoining valley. Just opposite the Hammâm es Shefa, the Valley of Jehoshaphat is about 130 feet below the level of the well mouth¹, and as the natural spring would issue, not from the side of the hill, but at the bottom of it, the water in question must have been obtained higher up the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where the depth was only $82\frac{1}{2}$ feet. At the north of the valley, where it is shallow, there does in fact at the present day, in winter, issue forth a spring which runs for several weeks together, and for some distance along the valley before it becomes absorbed.² We may suppose, therefore, that Hezekiah diverted this spring, by carrying it down the valley until

¹ Rob. i. 284.

² Barclay, 512; and see Tobler's *Drit. Wand.* 214.

it reached the part opposite the Temple, where it was brought westwards into, or "to the west side of, the city of David," viz. to the Hammâm es Shefa. During the summer months the constant supply for the baths exhausts the water, but in winter the conduit is insufficient, and the spring breaks out into the valley. The fountain-head to which we have alluded is about half a mile from the city¹; and curiously enough, Aristeas, in his famous letter (which, whether spurious or not, was written before the Christian era), maintains that he was led more than four stades (half a mile) from Jerusalem, when, on placing his ear to the ground, he could hear the rush of water.² May he not have been conducted to the fountain stopped or sealed by Hezekiah? It may be said, if the Hammâm es Shefa be connected with the upper watercourse of Gihon, why did not Hezekiah make an outlet to carry off the surplus waters in the city itself? To this objection we answer, that in exploring the conduit from the Fountain of the Virgin to Siloam Dr. Barclay discovered, about 49 feet from the fountain, a duct or channel coming down from the northwest, and he traced it as far as the Dung gate, when his progress was arrested by obstructions; but the channel then seemed to bend westward.³ As it is not likely that any but spring water would be conveyed into the main channel of the Fountain of the Virgin to Siloam, it is not unreasonable to suppose that this supplemental conduit, striking in from the north, is the termination of the subterranean cutting at the Hammâm es Shefa, and still serves to convey the surplus water not required for the baths into the Pool of Siloam.

3. "He gathered together the waters of the Lower

¹ Barclay, 512.

² Barclay, 297.

³ Barclay, 309, 518.

Pool ;”¹ or, as we read in another place, “He made a pool and a conduit, and brought water into the city.”²

We have seen that in the reign of Ahaz there was an Upper Pool, which implies a Lower Pool ; and here again Hezekiah is said to have constructed a Lower Pool. We must, therefore, look for an Upper Pool, with reference to which two other pools might respectively be called Lower, and such is precisely the case with the Pool Mamilla, the highest about Jerusalem. In the time of Ahaz the Lower Pool was the Birket Sultan in the same Valley of Hinnom without the city, on the west of the High Town. And Hezekiah now formed another pool for the use of the population without the High Town, on the north of it. In the time of Josephus it was called the Amygdalon, or Almond Pool, and at present the Pool of Hezekiah.³ Tradition for once is in the right. The water is still conveyed to it from the Upper Pool, the Dragon or Serpent Pool, now Mamilla, by a conduit which runs to the Valley or Jaffa gate, where anciently was the Dragon Fountain, and thence to the south-west corner of the Pool of Hezekiah. It will be observed that Hezekiah made a pool and a conduit, and the pool and conduit may have been either one work or two distinct works ; and I should rather imagine that two distinct works are referred to ; and that while Hezekiah formed the Lower Pool for the population settled to the north of the High Town, he also conducted the water from Mamilla by a conduit into the northern quarter of the High Town itself ; at least, on laying the

¹ Is. xxii. 9.

² 2 Kings xx. 20.

³ See view of it, Bartlett's Jerus. 89. Barclay, 537. Tobl. Denkblätter, at end.

foundations of the English church near the spot where the towers of Mariamne must have stood in the High Town, an aqueduct was discovered at the depth of twenty-three feet, running east and west, and traceable upwards of two hundred feet towards the east, and as far as the city wall on the west. It was built with cement, and very nearly level, so that the water would stand in it for its whole length, and at intervals were apertures above for drawing up the water with a line and bucket.¹ The aqueduct is now dry. It was probably supplied artificially, like the Pool of Hezekiah, by a conduit from the Upper Pool. This is confirmed by a passage in Josephus, where he speaks of a gate at the north-west corner of the High Town, by which the water was conveyed into Hippicus, the principal tower of the citadel.² It was in this aqueduct that Ananias, the proud high-priest who commanded Paul to be smitten on the mouth, hid himself in the Jewish rebellion, and was dragged forth and butchered, thus fulfilling the Apostle's prophecy, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall."³

4. He "made also a ditch between the two walls for the water of the old pool."⁴

Here we stand on more certain ground. The word rendered ditch signifies in Hebrew a reservoir⁵, and the meaning is this. Hezekiah was expecting the invasion of Sennacherib, and when Jerusalem was besieged the stream of Siloam would flow beyond the walls of

¹ Bartlett's Jerus. 82. Tobler's Dritte Wand. 231.

² μέχρι πύλης καθ' ἣν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰππικὸν πύργον εἰσῆκτο. — *Bell.* v. 7, 3.

³ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας περὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς εὐριπον διαλανθάνων ἀλίσκεται. — *Bell.* ii. 17, 9.

⁴ "הַקֶּבֶץ receptaculum aquæ." — *Simon's Heb. Lex.*

⁵ Is. xxii. 11.

the city for the benefit of the enemy. Hezekiah, therefore, to preserve the surplus water of Siloam for his own people, constructed a reservoir within the mouth of the Tyropœon "between the two walls," viz. the wall of Ophel on the east, and the wall of the High Town on the west. The valley in this part is very narrow, and the pool, therefore, could easily be constructed by carrying a dam across the ravine on the south. The remains of the pool, and particularly of the dam at the southern end, are still traceable¹; and the foundations of the southern boundary are composed of large stones, carrying the appearance of great antiquity.² The pool is 130 feet long, and about equally broad, somewhat curved at the northern end, which approaches within a few paces of the old pool, or Siloam³, which itself is about 100 yards from the southern end of the eastern ridge, commonly called Ophel.⁴ The pool thus formed by Hezekiah was afterwards known as the "King's Pool," from King Hezekiah who constructed it.

5. "He built up the wall that was broken down, and another wall without."⁵

The 400 cubits of the western limb of the second wall broken down by Jehoshaphat, king of Israel, had been restored by Uzziah, and now Hezekiah gave the second wall additional strength by raising the height of it up to the towers. Not only so, but he also "built another wall without." The second wall up to this time had started from the north wall of the High Town, about half-way along it between the Jaffa gate and the Temple. The western limb of

¹ See site of the pool beyond that of Siloam, Barclay, 525.

² Schultz, 40.

³ Barclay, 313.

⁴ Barclay, 524.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

the second wall, from its long reach and from the nature of the ground to the west, was a weak and assailable part, and Hezekiah now doubled the line of defence, by making an elbow, or "another wall without," commencing from the gate Gennath, near the north-west corner of the High Town, and running thence along the west side of the new Pool of Hezekiah, and then along its north side until it effected a junction with the second wall at the Gate of Ephraim. When the walls were repaired by Nehemiah this outer wall of Hezekiah was rebuilt, and formed part of the second wall, and so continued until the destruction of the city by Titus. Not long since, in repairing the Coptic convent at the north of the Pool of Hezekiah, the remains of the wall or the one substituted for it were discovered. The stones were large, hewn, and bevelled; and the south side of the wall was plastered with cement, as if it had at one time formed also the northern wall of the pool. This would probably be the case, as both the pool and the wall were the work of Hezekiah. Had the wall been constructed for the pool only, a thickness of three or four feet would have sufficed.¹ But the breadth of this wall was ten or twelve feet, and (assuming it to be twelve feet) was of the same breadth as the wall of the Temple.² This measure probably exceeded the average thickness of the second wall, and therefore gave rise to the name, by which it is called in Nehemiah, of the Broad Wall.³

After having fortified the least protected part of the city on the north-west, Hezekiah "repaired the breaches of the city of David,"⁴ or, as it is elsewhere

¹ See *Biblic. Dict.*, art. Jerus. 1028. ² *Bell.* vi. 5, 1.

³ *Neh.* iii. 8. The thickness of the present walls of Jerusalem is only from three to four feet. *Tobl. Top.* i. 62.

⁴ *Is.* xxxii. 9.

expressed, he “repaired Millo, the city of David;”¹ not as it is translated in the Authorised Version, “Millo, *in* the city of David,” but “Millo, the city of David;” for Millo was the Temple platform, the acropolis of the city; and as the castle taken by David had stood there, it came to be called the city of David.² In after times, indeed, the designation, “the city of David,” spread itself over the whole eastern hill down to Siloam, but originally it denoted exclusively the acropolis.

Such were the preparations made by Hezekiah in anticipation of the Assyrian invasion. Soon afterwards Sennacherib was in Palestine, and city after city fell before his arms. While he was besieging Lachish, he sent Rabshakeh with a strong force against Jerusalem, as an easy prey. Rabshakeh pitched his camp at the north-west of the city, as Hezekiah had expected, and where Hezekiah had recently fortified it by building “another wall without.” The site of this camp on the high ground at the north-west was ever afterwards known as the “Camp of the Assyrians.” Many, if not most, place the camp at the north-east of the city, but this cannot be maintained, for, in the siege by Titus, the Roman camp, which was on the site of the Assyrian camp, is said to have extended thence to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, a remark quite out of place, had the camp been at the north-east of the city, and, therefore, on the brink of the valley³: and again, the Jews sallied from the High Town by the Pool of Hezekiah, called then the Almond Pool, and, therefore, at the north-west of the High Town, and pursued the Romans as far as their camp, the “Camp of the Assyrians,”⁴ which, therefore, lay on the north-west: and

¹ 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

² 1 Chron. xi. 7. 2 Sam. v. 7.

³ Bell. v. 7, 3.

⁴ Bell. v. 11, 5; v. 7, 3.

again, the circumvallation of Titus was commenced at the Camp of the Assyrians, and carried thence across the Lower Cænopolis, or New Town, i. e. the eastern ridge, to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and, after encompassing the east and south, ended by running along the western side of the city, round the monument of Herod, at the Serpent, or Dragon, Pool, now the Mammilla, where it again joined the Camp of the Assyrians¹; and it is evident from this description that the Camp of the Assyrians lay between the second and third walls, at the north-west corner of the city. It probably stood in the upper part of the tract known as the Fuller's field.²

Rabshakeh, seeing the strength of the city, made no assault upon it, but summoned Hezekiah to a conference. As Sennacherib was not present in person, Hezekiah, consulting his own dignity, declined also to appear personally, and deputed his chief officers, Eliakim the minister of state, and Shebna the secretary, and Joah the recorder, to represent him. Rabshakeh "stood by the conduit of the upper pool, in the highway of the fuller's field,"³ and, therefore, by the Valley, or Jaffa, gate, where was the Dragon Fountain, fed by the conduit from the Upper, or Dragon, Pool, now the Mamilla. Eliakim and his company were posted on the wall adjoining, which was thronged by the people of the city. The Assyrian began in the Jews' language, and endeavoured by bravado and threats to terrify the besieged into a surrender of the city: "Thou trustest in the staff of this broken reed of Egypt, whereon if a man lean it shall go into his hand. . . . But if thou say to me, We trust in the Lord

¹ Bell. v. 12, 2.

² See ante, p. 38.

³ Is. xxxvi. 2.

our God . . . where are the Gods of Hamath and Arphad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim? and have they delivered Samaria out of my hand?"¹ Eliakim, Shebna, and Joah were afraid of the effect of this intimidation upon the bystanders, and said: "Speak, I pray thee, unto thy servants in the Syrian language, for we understand it, and speak not in the Jews' language in the ears of the people that are on the wall."² But Rabshakeh upon this raised his voice still higher in the Jew's language, and repeated his insolence; but Eliakim broke off the conference, and "the people answered him not a word, for the king's commandment was, saying, Answer him not."³ The result was reported to Hezekiah, who appealed to the prophet Isaiah for advice, when Isaiah was directed to carry to Hezekiah this message: "Thus saith the Lord, Be not afraid of the words that thou hast heard, wherewith the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. Behold I will send a blast upon him [Sennacherib], and he shall hear a rumour, and return to his own land, and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land."⁴ Rabshakeh, unable to assault Jerusalem, returned to his master then at Libnah, and shortly after the blast of the Lord, recorded in Scripture, and referred to, but less distinctly, by Herodotus, fell upon Sennacherib: "And the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose in the morning, behold they were all dead corpses. So Sennacherib, king of Assyria, departed and returned to Nineveh,"⁵ and was slain "in the house of Nisroch his god."⁶

Hezekiah was succeeded by his son Manasseh, of

¹ Is. xxxvi. 6, 19.

² Is. xxxvi. 11.

³ Is. xxxvi. 21.

⁴ Is. xxxvii. 7.

⁵ Is. xxxvii. 37.

⁶ Is. xxxvii. 38.

2



whom it is said that "he built a wall without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even unto the fish gate, and compassed about Ophel, and raised it up a very great height."¹ It is evident, therefore, that as the Gihon Valley wall, and the defences of Ophel, are contrasted, the Gihon Valley wall was distinct from any wall of Ophel. What the Gihon Valley wall really was has been much disputed, but it was probably this. Hezekiah had fortified the north-west of the city by raising the walls and building an outer wall; and Manasseh now strengthened the north-east of the city by running a new wall across the hill of Gareb. The old wall started from the north-west corner of Millo, or the Haram, and went in a curve northward to the Fish gate, and then westward to the Corner gate, where it bent southward to the first wall. Manasseh now "built a wall without the city of David [Millo, or the Temple platform], on the west side of Gihon [the Valley of Jehoshaphat], in [or along the brink of] the valley [northward]," and then westward across the high ground, "even unto the fish gate." In other words, the quarter at the north of the Temple offered the greatest facilities for an assault, and Manasseh now strengthened it by drawing a second wall from the north-east corner of the Haram along the edge of the valley northward, and then due east to the Fish gate in the second wall. This outer wall appears not to have been restored by Nehemiah, as we find Herod, before he was in possession of the second wall, assaulting the Temple inclosure on the north; and Titus also hoped, by taking the first wall, and before mastering the second, to make an attack upon Antonia from the north. The

¹ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

remains of an old wall are still to be seen, running east and west, at the north of the Haram, a little above the street leading to St. Stephen's gate; and these may possibly mark the course of the wall of Manasseh. The stones are large and bevelled, and are certainly of great antiquity, and are situate just in the line which we should assign to the Gihon Valley wall.¹

As to the Fish gate, at which the Gihon Valley wall terminated, the prophet Zephaniah, foreseeing in the days of Josiah that Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, should come up against Jerusalem and assault it on the north, lifts the veil of futurity thus: "It shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord, that there shall be the noise of a cry from the *fish gate*, and a howling from the *second*, and a great crashing *from the hills*."² As the host of an invading enemy invariably advanced against Jerusalem along the heights on the north, and as "the great crashing from the hills" must be referred to the shouts of the tumultuous host sweeping all before it in that quarter, we are prepared to find the Fish gate at the north of the city. Accordingly the Fish gate, as we shall see when we come to discuss the gates of Nehemiah, stood at the north-east of the city, and is the first gate mentioned by Nehemiah in the progress of the wall northward from the Temple. It probably, therefore, passed by the name of the "first gate," as in the following passage from the prophet Zechariah: "From Benjamin's gate [in the Temple plateau] unto the place of the *first gate* unto the corner gate,"³ where the prophet apparently refers to the breadth of Jerusalem above the Temple, viz. from the first gate, or Fish gate, at the north-east angle, to the

¹ Tobl. Top. i. 635.

² Zeph. i. 10.

³ Zech. xiv. 10.

Corner gate at the north-west angle. The "second" gate referred to by Zephaniah would, therefore, be the one next the Fish gate on the west, otherwise called the "old gate," or the "middle gate," as lying between the Fish gate and the Corner gate.

During the reign of Manasseh, the Temple of God was converted into a temple of idols, for a "grove was planted there, and altars erected to Baal and all the host of heaven;" and, as if Manasseh could not insult the God of his fathers sufficiently in his lifetime, he built himself a tomb, not in the sepulchres of the kings of Judah, but in immediate proximity to, or under the very area of, the holy Temple; for "they buried him in his own house,"¹ or palace; or, as it is more definitely recorded in another place, "in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzzah."² As the palace stood at the south of the Temple, the garden of Uzzah was contiguous to the Temple wall; and it is not unlikely that the sepulchre was hewn out of the very rock on which the Temple was built, and therefore under its foundations. His son and successor, Amon, practised the same idolatrous abominations and whoredom, and was also "buried in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzzah;"³ and it is to these idolatrous defilements, and to the pollution of the sanctuary by the carcasses of these two kings, that the prophet Ezekiel so indignantly alludes: "My holy name shall the house of Israel no more defile, neither they nor *their kings*, by their whoredoms, nor by *the carcasses of their kings* in their high places; in their setting of *their threshold by my thresholds*, and *their post by my posts*, and *the wall between me and them*. They have defiled my holy name by their abomi-

¹ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 20. ² 2 Kings xxxi. 18. ³ 2 Kings xxi. 26.

nations that they have committed: wherefore I have consumed them in mine anger. Now let them put away their whoredom, and *the carcases of their kings*, far from me, and I will dwell in the midst of them for ever."¹

From Amon, we pass on successively to Josiah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiachim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, the last of the kings of Judah. It is only of Zedekiah that we have anything to remark. As the fate of Jerusalem drew nigh, in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar, at the head of an irresistible army, pitched his camp, as all had done before him, against the northern quarter of the city. The capture appears to have been by a surprise at night upon the middle gate of the north wall.² And when the tumult of the invading host reached the ears of Zedekiah in the royal palace, at the south of the Temple, he and his body-guard "fled and went forth out of the city by night, by the way of the king's garden, by the gate betwixt the two walls, and he went out the way of the plain [of Jericho]."³ As Nebuchadnezzar entered on the north, Zedekiah escaped to the south along the Tyropœon Valley, between the wall of Ophel on his left, and of Pseudo-Sion, or the High Town, on his right. However, the unhappy prince was overtaken, and his eyes put out, and so he was carried to Babylon; thus fulfilling the famous prophecy of Ezekiel, that "he should not see Babylon, though he should die there."⁴

Thus ended the Jewish monarchy, and the demolition of Jerusalem itself followed fast upon it. "The house of the Lord, and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great man's house," and the gates

¹ Ezek. xliii. 7.

² Jer. xxxix. 3.

³ Jerem. xxxix. 4. 2 Kings xxv. 4.

⁴ Ezek. xii. 13.

of the city, were burnt with fire¹; and the walls of Jerusalem were thrown to the ground. No language can express the utter desolation of Jerusalem so forcibly as the prophetic words of Scripture, "I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it and turning it upside down."²

¹ 2 Kings xxv. 9. Neh. i. 3; ii. 3.

² 2 Kings xxi. 13.

CHAP. II.

THE WALLS OF NEHEMIAH.

THE decree of Cyrus, at the close of the captivity, extended only to the rebuilding of the Temple. "Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven . . . hath charged me to build him an *house* at Jerusalem."¹ And under this decree Jeshua and Zerubbabel "builded the altar of the God of Israel. . . . But the foundation of the Temple of the Lord was not yet laid."² Afterwards they "laid the foundation of the Temple of the Lord,"³ including, apparently, the outer wall, for their enemies made a representation to the king of Persia that the Jews were rebuilding the walls of their city: "The Jews which came up from thee to us are . . . building the rebellious and the bad city, and have set up the walls thereof, and joined the foundations."⁴ And as the wall of the Temple, which was about twelve feet thick, gave a colour to the charge, a decree was issued by Artaxerxes to prohibit the further prosecution of the work. "Then ceased the work of the *house of God*, which is at Jerusalem."⁵ On the accession of Darius to the throne of Persia, Jeshua and Zerubbabel recommenced the restoration of the Temple, including the wall of the

¹ Ezra i. 2, 3.² Ezra iii. 2.³ Ezra iii. 10.⁴ Ezra iv. 12.⁵ Ezra iv. 24.

Outer Temple, for they “began to build the house of God,”¹ when their enemies again stepped forward, saying, “Who hath commanded you to build this house, and to make up this wall?”² And on a renewed complaint to the king of Persia, search was made for the decree of Cyrus, and when it was found, Darius permitted the Jews to proceed with the Temple; “Let the governor of the Jews and the elders of the Jews build this *house of God* in his place;”³ and thereupon the structure and the outer walls thereof (the square of 600 feet) were completed: “They builded and finished it . . . on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king.”⁴

Thus far the rebuilding extended to the Temple only, and not to the walls of the city. Ezra afterwards obtained a decree to restore the nationality of the Jews, viz. to “set magistrates and judges, which might judge all the people;”⁵ and afterwards Nehemiah, the cupbearer to the king, was enabled in a favourable moment to win from him express permission to rebuild the Baris, or Vestry, afterwards Antonia⁶, and also the city: “Send me unto Judah, unto the city of my fathers’ sepulchres, that I may build it;”⁷ and a direction was given to the governors beyond the Euphrates to forward Nehemiah and his company to Jerusalem⁸; and the king’s forester was required to supply the necessary timber.⁹

Upon the strength of the royal mandate, Nehemiah arrived safely in Jerusalem, and before communicating

¹ Ezra v. 2.

² Ezra v. 3.

³ Ezra vi. 7.

⁴ Ezra vi. 14, 15.

⁵ Ezra vii. 25.

⁶ The Hebrew word *בֵּיתֶךָ* Baris, or castle, has been translated in the English version: “the *palace* which appertaineth to the house.” Neh. ii. 8.

⁷ Neh. ii. 5.

⁸ Neh. ii. 7.

⁹ Neh. ii. 8.

his projects to any one, made a nocturnal survey of the state of the walls. He mounted a beast, and rode forth with a few companions: "I went out by night by the gate of the valley, even before the dragon well."¹ By the valley simply, without addition or qualification, is meant the Valley of Hinnom; and, when reference is made to what is now called the Valley of Jehoshaphat on the east, the phraseology is "Kedron," or "the brook," from the stream which, before the stopping of the fountains by Hezekiah, flowed along it. The Valley gate was, therefore, that which stood at the north-west corner of the High Town, at the head of the Valley of Hinnom. What was the exact position of this gate it may be difficult to determine, as several gates in this quarter are mentioned in history. Thus, when the Romans under Titus lay before Jerusalem in the vicinity of the Jaffa gate, the Jews made a sally from Hippicus by a secret gate²; and as Titus at this time had not mastered the wall which ran north from Hippicus, the situation of this postern must have been on the western side of the High Town, just south of Hippicus. However, as this was a secret gate, it could scarcely have been the one referred to by Nehemiah. The Valley gate may with more probability be identified with that by which the Jews sallied when Titus had possessed himself of the third wall, viz. the gate by which water was conveyed into Herod's palace, now the castle of David³; and the circumstance of the water supply coming in at this gate agrees with the account of Nehemiah, that it

¹ Neh. ii. 13.

² ἐκθέουσι κατὰ τὸν Ἰππικὸν πύργον διὰ πύλης ἀφανοῦς.—Bell. v. 6, 5.

³ πύλης, καθ' ἣν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰππικὸν πύργον εἰσῆκτο.—Bell. v. 7, 3.

was before the Dragon *fountain* (mistranslated the Dragon *well*), which was opposite the Valley gate, and fed by a conduit from the Dragon, or Serpent, Pool mentioned by Josephus as situate in this part¹, and now known as the Birket Mamilla.

Nehemiah, after leaving the Valley gate, descended to the Dung gate²; and Josephus also, in tracing the western wall of the High Town, writes that it ran from Hippicus to the gate of the Essenes at Bethso³, the Hebrew word for a dung place.⁴ The Essene gate and the Dung gate would, therefore, appear to be identical, and situate at the south-west corner of the High Town.

Nehemiah then proceeded “to the gate of the fountain and to the king’s pool.”⁵ The Gate of the Fountain was that which overlooked the Tyropœon Valley, and led down from the High Town to the Fountain of Siloam; and the *King’s* Pool was that which *King* Hezekiah had formed in the same valley, between the wall of the High Town on the west, and the wall of Ophel on the east. Here the heaps of debris, the ruins of the city, interrupted the further progress of the beast, and Nehemiah was obliged to dismount, and advanced on foot along the eastern side of the city “by the brook” Kedron, and then returned by the same route back again, “and entered by the gate of the valley.”⁶

Having found his designs practicable, Nehemiah now called upon the Jews publicly, with heart and hand, to set to work upon the walls. Some of their enemies attempted to interfere, but the Jews, protected by the

¹ Bell. v. 3, 2.

² Neh. ii. 13.

³ διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βηθσω̄ καλουμένου κατατείνει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑσσηνῶν πύλιν.—Bell. v. 4, 2.

⁴ בֵּית צִנּוֹת.

⁵ Neh. ii. 14.

⁶ Neh. ii. 15.

royal fiat, proceeded vigorously to carry out the plans of their chief. We have in Nehemiah a very curious detail of the way in which this great undertaking was distributed amongst the priests, Levites, Nethinim, Tekoites, and people generally; and as the sacred penman assumes the localities to be known, and is only anxious to point out the merits of the respective workmen, we are at some little trouble to trace his progress round the city. In doing so we must keep in mind the following points as essential to a right understanding of a not very lucid description.

1. The walls of the *Temple* had been already completed by Jeshua and Zerubbabel, and therefore the walls of the *city* only now engaged the attention of Nehemiah. Accordingly, in the course of the work, no allusion is made either to the walls or gates of the *Temple*, and it is only when the whole circuit had been accomplished that a solemn thanksgiving is offered in the house of the Lord.

2. As the Jews were narrowly watched by their enemies, and they every moment expected an assault, insomuch that "every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon,"¹ and a trumpet was to be blown from the quarter where succour was needed², it is obvious that the great object in the first place was to throw up an outer wall as a protection against their foes, leaving any inner walls to a more convenient opportunity. Accordingly Nehemiah takes us from the Sheep gate round the whole ambit of the outer wall, until he arrives at the Sheep gate again.

3. A line drawn from the Temple to the Valley, or

¹ Neh. iv. 17.

² Neh. iv. 20.

Jaffa, gate would divide the city into two nearly equal parts ; and Nehemiah appears, for the purpose of exciting emulation, to have distributed each body of persons into two classes, one to labour on the north and the other on the south. Thus we have the priests of the hill, or those who resided on the Temple platform, occupied upon one part ; and the priests, “the men of the plain,” who inhabited Ophel, the lower area, upon another part.¹ So the Nethinim of the hill, or those of Moriah, are distinguished from the Nethinim below the Temple “who dwelt in Ophel ;”² and so some of the Tekoites were engaged on the north of the Temple³, and the rest on the south.⁴ And at the close of the work the whole people were distributed into two great companies, which marched along their own respective walls in opposite directions and met at the Temple, one at the northern and the other at the southern gate, i. e. one at the Prison gate and the other at the Water gate.⁵

We now proceed to trace the account in detail.

The enterprise was commenced by the high-priest Eliashib, as the chief personage of the nation, with the priests, his brethren ; and he laid the first stone of what is called the Sheep gate.⁶ As the work advanced in a northern direction we must look for the Sheep gate at the north of the Temple, and it would seem to be identical with “the high gate of Benjamin, which was by the Lord’s house,”⁷ and called the high gate or king’s bench, because there the king of Judah sat in judgment.⁸ Attached to it was a prison, the same in which Jeremiah was incarcerated, for they “put him in the stocks that

¹ Neh. iii. 22.

⁴ Neh. iii. 27.

⁶ Neh. iii. 1.

² Neh. iii. 26.

⁷ Jer. xx. 2.

³ Neh. iii. 5.

⁵ Neh. xii. 37, 39.

⁸ Jer. xxxviii. 7.

were in the high gate of Benjamin, which was by the house of the Lord.”¹ The gate of Benjamin was at the north of the Temple, for it is alluded to by Ezekiel as “the high gate which lieth toward the north,”² i. e. of the Temple, and was probably about the middle of the northern wall of the Temple platform, where the present gate Bab-es-Hotta stands, at the western end of the Pool of Bethesda. That Benjamin’s gate was the most eastern gate in the north wall of the old city, we may collect from its being opposed by the prophet to the Corner gate at the north-west angle: “It [Jerusalem] shall be lifted up and inhabited in her place, from Benjamin’s gate unto the place of the first gate, unto the corner gate.”³ Benjamin’s gate was the principal, if not the only gate at the north of the Temple inclosure, and this may be the reason why the high-priest here commenced the great national undertaking. The space between the eastern end of the Pool of Bethesda and the eastern wall of the city is so narrow, that a gate of so much consequence as Benjamin’s gate could scarcely have stood there.⁴ The only other mention of the Sheep gate is in John v. 2, where it is placed by the Pool of Bethesda. There can be little doubt that the pool so called by St. John is identical with that which now bears the name, and, if so, the testimony of John as to the position of the Sheep gate agrees with that of Nehemiah. It is remarkable that to this day the Bedouins bring their sheep to market in this quarter of the city.⁵ Eliashib and his brethren *rebuilt* the Sheep

¹ Jer. xx. 2.² Ezek. ix. 2.³ Zech. xiv. 10.⁴ See a view of the little Turkish gate, Sobât, and of the road leading to it from the north at the eastern end of the Pool of Bethesda, in Traill’s Josephus, ii. 134.⁵ Krafft, 149.

gate, which had therefore been destroyed by the Chaldeans, but the wall running westward from the Sheep gate to the Tower of Meeah, and beyond that to the Tower of Hananeel, appears to have been left standing by the Chaldeans, and was therefore only repaired.

When Eliashib and his brethren had completed their portion they sanctified it, that is, they invoked the divine blessing upon their labours. The text runs thus: "Then Eliashib the high priest rose up with his brethren the priests, and they *builded* the sheep gate; they *sanctified* it, and set up the doors of it; even unto the tower of Meeah they *sanctified* it, unto the tower of Hananeel."¹ As the tower of Hananeel was at the north-west corner of the Temple platform, and therefore on the site afterwards occupied by the Acra or Macedonian castle, Meeah must have stood between that and the Sheep gate, where now is the gate Bab-es-Sawatar or Dewatar. That the towers of Meeah and Hananeel were not far apart, and were in the immediate vicinity of the Temple, may be reasonably inferred from the fact that the portion of the wall between the Sheep gate and Meeah, and between Meeah and Hananeel, was committed to the care of the high-priest and his company.

"Next unto him [Eliashib], *built* the men of Jericho: and next unto them *builded* Zaccur, the son of Imri. But the fish gate did the sons of Hassenaah *build*."²

And a recent traveller tells us that up a vaulted passage leading on the east of Pilate's House to the Haram, on the right hand, is a large birket, or pool, in ruins, and that the gate of the Haram close by is called the Sheep gate. (Stewart, Tent and Khan, 274.) The glance obtained was a furtive one, and the locality still remains to be explored.

¹ Neh. iii. 1.

² Neh. iii. 2, 3.

These parts of the wall, therefore, had been demolished by the Chaldeans so as to require rebuilding. The Fish gate, from this description, was one of those in the wall running out from Hananeel, at the north-west corner of the Haram, in a north-western direction. Jerome most extraordinarily places the Fish gate on the site of the Jaffa gate, a position wholly at variance with every Scripture statement, and manifestly erroneous. The only ground for the hypothesis must have been the conjecture that the Fish gate was so called from the fish brought from the coast, and was therefore the gate leading to Jaffa. More probably, however, the name originated from the fish brought from the sea of Galilee, where, as we know from the occupation of the apostles, extensive fisheries were then carried on. The fish-market may also have been supplied, as it was in a later age, from Tyre, and, if so, one of the northern gates by which the fish from this quarter would arrive might very naturally have received the name of the Fish gate.

“And next unto them” three private persons *repaired*; “and next unto them the Tekoites *repaired* ;”¹ so that the wall in this part had not been destroyed, but broken only. These Tekoites were one of the two divisions of that body, and we shall presently find the other employed in the south.

“Moreover the *old gate* repaired Jehoiada the son of Paseah, and Meshullam the son of Besodeiah.”² The Old gate was in the Mill Valley, the natural approach to the Temple. At the north of the city were three gates: the First gate, or Fish gate, on the east; the Corner gate on the west; and between them the Old gate, or Middle gate, the one by which Nebuchadnezzar entered:

¹ Neh. iii. 4, 5.

² Neh. iii. 6.

for “In the ninth year of Zedekiah king of Judah, in the tenth month, came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and all his army against Jerusalem, and they besieged it. And in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, in the fourth month, the ninth day of the month, the city was broken up, and all the princes of the king of Babylon came in, and sat in the *middle* gate.”¹ It was also, apparently, at the Middle gate that Titus made his attack upon the second wall, for it is expressly said that he applied the ram at “the middle tower.”²

“And next unto them *repaired* Melatiah the *Gibeonite*, and Jadon the Meronothite, the men of *Gibeon* and of *Mizpah*, unto the *throne of the governor on this side the river*.”³ Both Gibeon and Mizpah were but a few miles to the north of Jerusalem, and their inhabitants would therefore be employed upon some part at the north of the city, and we should assign to them a portion of the wall running from the Old gate to the Corner gate, at the north-west angle of the city. We have seen that the Assyrian armies always advanced against Jerusalem from the north, and when Nebuchadnezzar took the city, the throne of his viceroy, or “the governor on this side the river [Euphrates],” would be situate in the northern quarter; and, from the account of Nehemiah, it stood in the vicinity of the Old gate.

“Next unto him *repaired* Uzziel the son of Harhaiah, of the goldsmiths. Next unto him also *repaired* Hanaiah the son of one of the apothecaries, and they fortified Jerusalem unto the *broad wall*.”⁴ The wall in this part therefore required to be repaired only, and not rebuilt. We have now arrived at Hezekiah’s wall, called

¹ Jer. xxxix. 1.

³ Neh. iii. 7.

² τῷ μέσῳ πύργῳ. — Bell. v. 7, 4.

⁴ Neh. iii. 8.

the Broad wall, which, starting from the Gate of Ephraim at about the middle of the western limb of the old second wall, and taking a westerly direction, bent round the Pool of Hezekiah southward, and so joined the first wall, or the wall of the High Town, near the Gate Gennath. As 400 cubits of the wall from the Gate of Ephraim to the Corner gate were broken down by Jehoash¹, the Gate of Ephraim must have stood 600 feet to the south of the Corner gate.

“Next unto them repaired Rephaiah the son of Hur, the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem²,” and who, we may surmise, was ruler of the northern half. And next after him repaired successively four private persons, and one of them “*over against his own house*”³, which shows that occasionally the portions of the wall built or repaired were very small. Then “Malchijah the son of Harim, and Hashub the son of Pahath-moab repaired the other piece, and the *tower of the furnaces*.”⁴ This tower was probably either at the projecting elbow of Hezekiah’s wall, or at the junction of Hezekiah’s wall to the north wall of the High Town.

Between this tower and the Jaffa gate would still remain a piece of wall, and it is said that “next unto him repaired Shallum the son of Haloresh, the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem, he and his daughters.”⁵ And as this piece of wall belonged to the southern portion of Jerusalem, Shallum was probably ruler of the southern part, and resided in the castle on the site of the present Castle of David. This portion of the northern wall of the High Town was the part afterwards made impregnable by the famous towers of Herod, Hippicus and Phasaelus. The third tower of Herod, Mariamne, pro-

¹ 2 Kings xiv. 13. ² Chron. xxv. 23.

³ Neh. iii. 9.

⁴ Neh. iii. 11.

² Neh. iii. 9.

⁵ Neh. iii. 12.

bably stood, not exactly in the line of the northern wall of the High Town, but a little southward.¹

We have now completed the northern half of the walls, and proceed to the southern.

“The valley gate repaired Hanun, and the inhabitants of Zanoah, . . . and a thousand cubits unto the dung gate.”² The Valley gate, as we have seen, stood on or near the site of the present Jaffa gate; and the 1000 cubits, or 1500 feet, take us to the south-western corner, or nearly so, of the High Town, where Nehemiah places the Dung gate. Josephus traces the same wall from Hippicus to the Gate of the Essenes at Bethso³, or the dung place⁴, and the Essene gate and the Dung gate are therefore identical.

“The dung gate repaired Malchiah the son of Rechab, the ruler of part of Beth-haccerem; he built it, and set up the doors thereof, and the locks thereof, and the bars thereof. But the gate of the fountain repaired Shallum the son of Col-hozeh; and the wall of the pool of Siloah by the king’s garden, and unto the stairs that go down from the city of David.”⁵ As Nehemiah makes no mention of the wall between the Dung gate and the Fountain gate, this part of the fortifications had probably not been demolished by the Chaldeans. The Fountain gate was that which led down from the High Town to the Valley of the Tyropœon, where was the Fountain *par excellence*, of Siloam; and, if so, Nehemiah passes over the intervening Potter’s gate, which stood on the south of the city, opposite the bed of clay⁶ called, from the pottery there, the Potter’s field, and afterwards Aceldama, or field of blood.⁷

¹ See post.

² Neh. iii. 13.

³ Bell. v. 4.

⁴ See ante, p. 60.

⁵ Neh. iii. 14, 15.

⁶ Schultz, 39.

⁷ Rob. i. 239.

The Potter's gate is alluded to by Jeremiah: "Thus saith the Lord, Go and get a potter's earthen bottle and go forth unto the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the *Potter's gate*¹, and proclaim there the words I shall tell thee."² And again: "Arise, and go down to the potter's house, and there I will cause thee to hear my words. Then I went down to the potter's house, and, behold, he wrought a work on the wheels. And the vessel that he made of clay was marred in the hand of the potter; so he made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it."³ The latter passage is that alluded to by St. Paul in the well-known text: "Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour."⁴

It has been much disputed whether the wall of the city, on reaching the Tyropœon Valley, made a crook, or bend, by running up the eastern side of the High Town, and then down the western side of Ophel to Siloam, or whether it crossed the mouth of the Tyropœon in a direct line from the High Town to Ophel. As the Jews under Nehemiah were building in the greatest haste to protect themselves from a hostile assault, momentarily expected, they may for the time have taken the short cut across the Tyropeon. But that the permanent wall of the city, from the earliest to the latest time, ran up the western side of Pseudo-Sion, and down the eastern side of Ophel, may be almost demonstrated. Thus we have seen that Hezekiah, in order to preserve the waters of Siloam for the use of

¹ Translated in our version by a different reading, "the east gate," whereas it was at the south. See Thrupp, 128.

² Jer. xix. 2.

³ Jer. xviii. 2.

⁴ Rom. ix. 21.

the city, "made a ditch [it should be rendered a pool] *between the two walls* for the water of the old pool;"¹ and when Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans took the city on the north at the "middle gate," the king, in his palace at the south of the Temple took fright, and "went forth out of the city by night, by the way of the king's garden, by the gate *betwixt the two walls*;"² and the two walls in the above passages can only be accounted for on the supposition that the southern wall ran up the eastern side of the High Town, and then down the western side of Ophel.

Josephus also tells us distinctly that the southern wall "made a bend over Siloam, and then again deflected, with its face to the east, to Solomon's Pool [now the Fountain of the Virgin], and then stretching up to a place called Ophla, joined the eastern cloister of the Temple."³ And again, had the wall crossed the mouth of the Tyropœon, Josephus could not have said, as he does, that on the south, where was only one wall, the city was defended by inaccessible ravines; for the wall, had it crossed at the mouth, would have offered an assailable point.⁴

This bend over Siloam may be one of the sinuosities of the wall alluded to by Tacitus: "The two hills, which were of vast height, were shut in by walls artificially tortuous, or *forming bays inwards*;"⁵ for the word bay exactly answers to the bend of the wall in this part, which was something in the form of a horseshoe.

In the tract within this curve, which is still very fertile⁶,

¹ Is. xxii. 11.

² Jer. xxxix. 4. 2 Kings xxv. 4.

³ Bell. v. 4, 2.

⁴ Bell. v. 4, 2.

⁵ "Nam duos colles immensum editos claudebant muri, per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati."—*Tac. Hist.* v. 11.

⁶ Tobl. Top. i. 25.

and reaching thence down to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, were the king's gardens; and Nehemiah probably means the wall round the valley under the words, "the wall of the pool of Siloam, by the king's garden." The fountain itself was without the wall of Ophel, for in the siege by Titus, and before he was master of the walls, Josephus tells the Jews that the fountains which, before the arrival of Titus, had been dried up, flowed again at his coming, "*both Siloam and all those without the city.*"¹

But the fountain lay just beneath the wall², and was commanded by it; and the possession of it was, therefore, of importance: and in the feud between Simon and John, when Jerusalem was invested by the Romans, the fountain, that is, Siloam, was held by Simon.³ No doubt the wall of Ophel had been carried down to the very apex of Ophel, in order to protect the fountain; and at this extreme point must have stood the tower of Siloam, which, in the time of our Lord, fell and slew eighteen persons.⁴ The gradual undermining of the rock had probably loosened the foundations of the building. As Siloam lay under the southern point of Ophel, it marked the extent of the city in that direction; whence Neapolitanus, who, on his mission from Cestius entered Jerusalem from the north, is said to have been conducted through it down to Siloam.⁵ The approach to the fountain was by the stairs mentioned by Nehemiah as "going down from the city of David," that is, from Ophel, as appears from a subsequent passage; for, when the two companies of them that gave thanks at

¹ τήντε Σιλωὰμ . . . καὶ τὰς ἔξω τοῦ ἁστέος ἀπάσας.—*Bell.* v. 9, 4.

² See view of Siloam from the north, in Barclay, 525; from the south, in Bartlett's *Jerus.* 68.

³ *Bell.* v. 6, 1.

⁴ *Luke* xiii. 4.

⁵ μέχρι τοῦ Σιλοᾶ.—*Bell.* ii. 16, 2.

the conclusion of the work of Nehemiah made the circuit of the walls in opposite directions, one of them took the southward route, and proceeded from the Valley gate to the Dung gate, and thence to the Fountain gate, and thence "they went up by the *stairs of the city of David*, at the going up of the wall, *above the house of David*, even unto the water gate eastward."¹

"And after him (i.e. from the stairs) repaired Nehemiah . . . unto the place over against the *sepulchres of David*, and to the *pool that was made*, and unto the *house of the mighty*."² Of the sepulchres of David we know nothing; but if they were *in* the city of David, i.e. in Ophel, then, from the above allusion to them, they were near the stairs which led to Siloam. What is now called the Tomb of David, in the High Town, has not the least claim to that character. If a tomb at all, it is that of a single person, and not the mausoleum of the kings of Judah. From the words "*over against* the sepulchres of David," we should surmise that the sepulchres here alluded to were those cut out of the rock, which are still seen at the village of Siloam, just "*over against*" the piece of wall last described.³ It is hardly conceivable that the kings of Judah were, in contravention of Jewish customs, and in violation of their strongest prejudices, buried *within* the walls. The expressions, "*in Jerusalem*," "*in the city of David*," "*in the city of Judah*,"⁴ all mean the same thing, viz. *at Jerusalem*; and from one passage it would seem that the sepulchres of the kings (except those of Manasseh and Amon) were *without* the walls, for Uzziah the leper was "*buried with his fathers in the field of the burial* which belonged to the

¹ Neh. xii. 37.

² Neh. iii. 16.

³ See the view of Siloam, in Bartlett's Jerusalem, 110.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxv. 28.

kings.”¹ Josephus also relates, that when Herod, who was residing in his palace in the High Town, conceived the design of plundering the tomb of David, as Hyrcanus had done before, he was anxious to elude the observation of those “in the city;”² from which the inference arises that the tomb itself lay without the city; for if both the palace and the tomb were within it, the words “in the city” would have been superfluous. If it be said that the tomb of David, as it contained vast treasures, could not have been without the walls, and therefore exposed to the rapacity of every invading enemy, the answer is, that the supposition of any such deposit of treasure is incredible on the face of it: and the explanation of the legend about Hyrcanus and Herod is, that, when the Jewish princes were under great pressure, they laid their hands on the Corban, or treasures of the Temple; but, as this could not be publicly acknowledged, it was given out to the credulous multitude that their newly acquired ingots of gold were recovered from the coffers of the dead.

Of the House of the Mighty no mention is made elsewhere; but, presumptively, it was identical with, or stood on, the site of the building afterwards called the Palace of Monobazus; for Josephus describes the same wall as descending with its face to the east down to the Palace of Monobazus.³ The word “descending,” here used, seems to imply that the wall went some way down the eastern slope of Ophel for the purpose of including the palace.

The “pool that was made” is the Pool, or Fountain, of

¹ 2 Chron. xxvi. 23.

² ἐν τῇ πόλει.—*Ant.* xvi. 7, 1.

³ ἀπὸ τῆς Σιλωᾶς ἀνάκαμπτον εἰς ἀνατολὴν ὃ μέχρι τῆς Μονοβάζου κατέβαιεν αὐλῆς.—*Bell.* v. 6, 1.

the Virgin, at the foot of the precipitous side of Ophel, about half-way between the southern termination of the ridge at Siloam and the south-east corner of the Temple platform.¹ "The pool that was made" is very emphatic, as this small pool has been entirely excavated out of the hard rock, and is approached by two flights of steps.

We now come to the neighbourhood of the Temple; and here the repairs are taken up by the Priests, Levites, Nethinims, and Tekoites, the servants of the Temple.

"And after him repaired the *Levites*."² And Nehemiah then enumerates the repairs of some small pieces as far as "over against the going up to the *armoury* at the *turning of the wall*."³ By the armoury must be meant "the tower of David, builded for an armoury, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men."⁴ At the Armoury there was "a turning of the wall;" that is, the wall made an angle, and, apparently, a reentering one, or nook.

"After him Baruch the son of Zabbai earnestly repaired the other piece, from the *turning* of the wall unto the *door* of the house of Eliashib the high priest. After him repaired Meremoth the son of Urijah the son of Koz another piece, from the *door* of the house of Eliashib even unto the *end of the house of Eliashib*."⁵ The last words show how trifling some of the pieces repaired by the Levites were.

"And after him repaired the *priests*, the men of the plain."⁶ The wall is now taken up by the priests, who

¹ See views of it, Traill's Josephus, ii. 217. Bartlett's Jerus. 112; Ibid. Revisited, 131. Barclay, 517.

² Neh. iii. 17.

³ Neh. iii. 19.

⁴ Sol. Song iv. 4.

⁵ Neh. iii. 20.

⁶ Neh. iii. 22.

lived below the Temple ; and Nehemiah makes mention of three persons who repaired “unto the *turning of the wall*, even unto the *corner*.”¹ The wall, therefore, here made another angle ; and as the Hebrew word for “turning” is used as synonymous with “corner,” or a projecting angle, the wall here made an elbow outward.

“Palal the son of Uzai, over against *the turning of the wall*, and the *tower which lieth out* from the king’s high house that was by the *court of the prison*.”² The King’s house is, of course, the royal palace, and the situation of it was, as already explained, at the south of the Temple ; and the court of the prison was attached to the palace, and here it was that the prophet Jeremiah was incarcerated by Zedekiah : he “was shut up in the court of the prison which was in the king of Judah’s house.”³ The royal palace was not restored after the captivity, but the people could better spare the palace than the prison, for the latter was continued to the last on the same spot, under the name of the Hippodrome.⁴

“After him Pedaiah the son of Parosh. Moreover, the Nethinims [that] dwelt in Ophel, unto the place over against the *water gate toward the east*, and the *tower that lieth out*.”⁵ The Water gate proper was that of the inner Temple, to the south of the altar, and led down to the great southern gate of the outer Temple, which was probably also called the Water gate ; so that this piece of the wall was opposite to the southern gate of the outer Temple, or rather was the part of the wall which made the nearest approach to the Water gate. The wall here turned “toward the east” to “the tower

¹ Neh. iii. 24.

² Neh. iii. 25.

³ Jer. xxxii. 2.

⁴ Ant. xvii. 10, 2.

⁵ Neh. iii. 25, 26.

Engraved by F. Toller
London: Longman & Co.

that lieth out ;” so that here was another angle. It was from the number of towers in this quarter that Ophel derived its name, the Hebrew word Ophel signifying “ towers.” ¹

“ After them the Tekoites repaired another piece over against the great tower that lieth out even unto the wall of Ophel.” ² Josephus tells us that the city wall from the south joined the eastern cloister of the Temple at Ophel.³ And again, that Titus, when in possession of the Temple, burnt the council-house, &c. ; and what was called Ophla.⁴ Ophel, or Ophla, therefore, was a particular place at the south-east corner of the Temple, and not to be confounded with Ophel, used at the present day to denote the whole eastern hill.

“ From above the *horse gate* repaired the priests [of Moriah] every one over against his house. After them repaired Zadok the son of Immer over against his house. After him repaired also Shemaiah the son of Shechaniah, the keeper of the *eastern gate*. After him repaired Hananiah another piece. After him repaired Meshullam the son of Berechiah, over against his chamber.” ⁵ The Horse gate stood in or near the angle where the city wall from the south met the southern end of the eastern cloister of the Temple ; and in this part the priests repaired eastward to the south-east corner of the Haram ; then northward as far as the chambers of the priests reached. These chambers, or lodgings, of the priests appear to have stood partly in Ophla, at the south of the Temple, and partly upon the substructions to the east of the Temple, at the south-east corner of the Haram. As the cham-

¹ תִּמּוּלִי. But in Simon's Lexicon the word is rendered tumuli.

² Neh. iii. 27.

³ Bell. v. 2.

⁴ Bell. vi. 6, 3.

⁵ Neh. iii. 28.

bers were of small dimensions, the columns of the vaults would be adequate to this purpose, though not calculated to bear the pressure of a more weighty superstructure. Shemaiah is described as the "keeper of the east gate," by which is probably meant the east gate more than once referred to by Josephus¹, viz. the Corinthian or Beautiful gate of the Temple, the eastern portal leading up to the court of the women. The south-east corner of the outer Temple², from which the commencement and close of each Sabbath were proclaimed, overlooked these chambers.³

"After him repaired Malchiah the *goldsmith's* son unto the place of the *Nethinims*, and of the *merchants*, over against the gate Miphkad and to the going up of the corner."⁴ Where the chambers of the priests ended the dwellings of the Nethinims and the goldsmiths and merchants began, who accordingly continued the repairs. The gate Miphkad is now the Golden gate, and the going up of the corner is where the wall makes an angle to ascend westward, and is now the north-east corner of the Haram.

"Between the *going up of the corner* unto the *sheep gate* repaired the goldsmiths and the merchants."⁵ The marginal reading for the going up of the corner is, the corner "chamber;" but even this does not express the force of the original word, which signifies an upper chamber.⁶ The principal towers of Jerusalem, as Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, and all those of the third wall, were solid at the base, with a guard chamber erected above; and the upper chamber here referred to

¹ Bell. vi. 4, 4; vi. 6, 1.

² τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ.—Matt. iv. 5.

³ πεζοφόρια.—Bell. iv. 9, 12. ⁴ Neh. iii. 31. ⁵ Neh. iii. 32.

⁶ "חֲבֵרָה cubiculum superius, ὑπερῶν." —Simon's Lexic.

must be taken to mean that erected over the solid square of the base. The latter had probably been left standing by Nebuchadnezzar, while the chamber over it had been destroyed, and the goldsmiths and merchants now restored the tower to its former state, and completed the wall between it and the Sheep gate.¹ However, Krafft admits the received translation, and thinks that there was here a going up in the sense of a flight of steps leading from the exterior into the Temple platform. There is certainly sufficient space for a passage; and indeed there is at the present day a passage to and from the Haram between the Pool of Bethesda and the city wall.

Thus we have made the whole circuit of the walls, and come again to the point from which we started.

When the walls were completed, the priests and Levites, and the people, were divided into two great companies, who were respectively to traverse their own portions of the wall in opposite directions, and to meet in the Temple. At the head of one was Nehemiah, and at the head of the other was Ezra the scribe. The point from which they both set out is left to implication; but it was clearly the Valley gate, lying due west of, and diametrically opposite to, the Temple on the east. The account of the peregrination of Nehemiah is given the most in detail. Nehemiah and his followers had repaired the northern wall, it will be remembered, in the following order:—

1. The Sheep gate.
2. The Tower of Meeah.

¹ See view, from the east, of the remains of the tower at the north-east corner of the Haram, in Traill's *Josephus*, i. p. xlii.; and from the north, in Traill's *Josephus*, ii. p. 134.

3. The Tower of Hananeel.
4. The Fish gate.
5. The Old gate.
6. The Broad wall.
7. The Tower of the furnaces.

And Nehemiah and his company, setting out from the Valley gate, now paraded successively in reverse order “from beyond the *tower of the furnaces*, even unto the *broad wall*, and from above the gate of Ephraim [not mentioned before], and above the *old gate*, and above the *fish gate*, and the *tower of Hananeel*, and the *tower of Meeah*, even unto the *sheep gate*.”¹ We have before explained that the Sheep gate was in the wall of the city, and not of the Temple; and it is added that, after having passed the Sheep gate, “they stood still in the *prison gate*,”² which was one of the northern gates of the Inner Temple. It was so called, say the Talmudists, because through it Jeconiah was led to prison³, but this is somewhat apocryphal, and we can assign another more probable origin of the name; for on the northern side of the Temple, and attached to the High Gate of Benjamin was the prison, or King’s Bench⁴, and the Gate of the Temple, which looked towards or led to the prison, may well have been called the Prison Gate. Its position would therefore be opposite, or nearly so, to the most eastern of the three northern gates of the Court of the Priests, and so facing the high altar. Thus the company of Nehemiah moved from the Sheep gate in the city wall to the Prison gate of the Temple, on the northern side of the great altar; and here for the present we leave them.

¹ Neh. xii. 38, 39.

³ Fergusson, 24.

² Neh. xii. 39.

⁴ See ante, p. 62.

Entered by F. W. H. G.
 London: Longman & Co.

The southern portion of the wall, we may remember, had been repaired in the following order :—

1. The Valley gate.
2. The Dung gate.
3. The Fountain gate.
4. The Stairs of the city of David.
5. The Wall of Ophel or Ophla.

Ezra and his company now ascending the wall at the *valley gate* “went on the wall toward the *dung gate* : . . . And at the *fountain gate*, which was over against them, they went up by the *stairs of the city of David*, at the going up of the wall, above the house of David, even unto the *water gate eastward*.”¹ It must not be supposed from the word “eastward” that the Water gate was an eastern gate ; for “eastward” means only that the company having started from the Valley gate on the west, paraded eastward as far as the Water gate. The Water gate was properly the most eastern of the three *southern* gates of the Court of the Priests, and led down to the southern gate of the *outer* Temple, called perhaps the Water gate also, and so to “the street of the house of God,”² or “the street that was before the water gate,”³ or “east street,”⁴ as being the street lying most to the east, but itself running north and south. Nehemiah by the Water gate means certainly here the southern gate either of the outer or inner Temple, for he adds, after having brought both companies, the one to the Prison gate and the other to the Water gate, “so stood the two companies of them that gave thanks *in the house of God*,”⁵ and as they proceeded to offer sacrifices on the high altar, we

¹ Neh. xii. 31, 37.

³ Neh. viii. 1, 3, 16.

² Neh. x. 9.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxix. 4.

⁵ Neh. xii. 40.

should infer that the Water gate was that of the inner Temple.

Thus Nehemiah and his company were ranged on the north side of the altar, at the Prison gate ; and Ezra and his company opposite to them, on the south side, by the Water gate. —

CHAP. III.

OF THE MACCABEES.

FROM the erection of the walls by Nehemiah to the demolition of them by Antiochus Epiphanes, nothing of topographical interest occurs. During the interval the storm of Alexander's conquests swept over the East, but the reed of Judah bowed its head, and was bent without being broken. The Jewish state (an aristocracy under the Sanhedrim and the High priest), though there was often a difficulty in properly trimming the vessel between the Scylla of Egypt under the Ptolemies, and the Charybdis of Syria under the Seleucidæ, yet held on its course without utter prostration on the one hand or triumphant exaltation on the other. It was the galling yoke of Antiochus Epiphanes that called forth the heroic virtues of the Maccabees, and led eventually to the reestablishment of the national independence.

In B.C. 168 Antiochus Epiphanes, enraged at the leaning of the nation towards the Ptolemies, took possession of the city, demolished the walls, offered every conceivable pollution in the Temple and on the altar, and conceived the design of extirpating the Jewish religion, and substituting the idolatry of the Greeks. With this view he erected the celebrated Acra or citadel, which afterwards gave its name to the Low Town, and garrisoned it with Macedonians, who for many a long

year were a festering thorn in the side of Jerusalem. According to the Maccabees, "Then builded they the *city of David*, with a great and strong wall and mighty towers, and made it a stronghold for them ;"¹ and Josephus refers to the erection of the Acra thus : "Having thrown down the walls of the city, he [Antiochus] built the Acra in the *Low Town*. For it was high and overhanging the Temple, and for this reason he fortified it with strong towers, and set in it a Macedonian garrison."² The two accounts agree ; for the Low Town spoken of by Josephus is identical with the eastern hill, on which was Sion, or the City of David, the site of the Acra in the Maccabees. As Josephus represents the Acra as overhanging the Temple, it must have stood on the north of it, and the exact position may be collected from the following brief but pregnant passage in the Maccabees : — "And [Simon] fortified the *mount of the Temple*, that was *by the side of the Acra*, and *dwelt there* himself and his people."³ Here we have mention made,—1st, of the Temple ; 2nd, of the Mount of the Temple (where Simon fixed his residence, and therefore distinct from the Temple itself) ; and 3rd, of the Acra, by the side of the Temple mount. The Temple, as we shall see hereafter, stood at the south-west corner of the Haram. Above it was the Mount of the Temple, the Baris of the Maccabees, and the Antonia of Herod ; and next it, on the north, was the Acra.

This site was so commanding, that the Macedonian garrison overawed the Temple, and became a snare to the worshippers of Jehovah. "It was a place to lie in

¹ 1 Macc. i. 33.

² Ant. xii. 5, 4.

³ καὶ προσωχύρωσε τὸ ὄρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ παρὰ τὴν Ἀκραν, καὶ ὧκει ἐκεῖ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ. — 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

wait against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel.”¹ “They made themselves a tower, out of which they issued and polluted all about the sanctuary, and did much hurt in the holy place.”² Thus, in a short time, from the incubus of the Acra, “Jerusalem lay void as a wilderness; there was none of her children that went in or out; the sanctuary also was trodden down; . . . and joy was taken from Jacob, and the pipe with the harp ceased.”³

The coldest chill of the night is just before daybreak; and now sprang to life the chivalrous family of the Maccabees, the priest Mattathias, and his five valiant sons. The fine old patriarch was soon gathered to his fathers; but Judas, the lion of Israel, at the head of a little band of patriots, pursued his wonderful career through good report and ill report, undismayed by defeat, a thunderbolt when victor; until at the end of three years from the first outrage of Antiochus, he marched triumphantly into Jerusalem, and was master of the whole city, with the exception of the Acra itself. It was a sorry sight, for “they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burnt up, and the shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest or in one of the mountains, yea, and the priests’ chambers pulled down.”⁴ Nor was it an easy task to remove all these pollutions in the face of the Acra, which overlooked the Temple.⁵ However, while some laboured in the sanctuary, others were employed in watching the Macedonian keep⁶, and thus at last the Temple and altar were purified, and the holy place again consecrated to Je-

¹ 1 Macc. i. 36.

² 1 Macc. xiv. 36; and see vi. 18.

³ 1 Macc. iii. 45.

⁴ 1 Macc. iv. 38.

⁵ ἐπέκειτο γὰρ τῷ ἱερῷ ἡ ἄκρα. — *Ant.* xii. 9, 3.

⁶ *Ant.* xii. 7, 6. 1 Macc. iv. 41.

hovah, the anniversary of which was ever afterwards observed as the Feast of Dedication.¹

To guard against a repetition of these defilements of the Temple, Judas now secured the Temple and the circumjacent area called "The liberties of the Temple,"² by restoring the outer bulwarks. "At that time also they builded up the *mount Sion*, with *high walls* and *strong towers round about*, lest the Gentiles should come and tread it down as they had done before."³ That the walls now built by Judas were not those of the Temple itself, but of the platform or liberties about it, may be concluded from the mention of towers, for the outer wall of the Temple had never any towers.⁴ It was probably also at this time that Judas, to counteract the evil effects of the Acra at the north-west corner of the Temple platform, erected, or rather strengthened, the Baris or fort on the mount, between the Temple and the Acra. This monticule was higher than the Temple, and commanded it; but was lower than the Acra.

Originally, Sion and the city of David were the same thing, "The castle of Zion, which is the city of David;"⁵ but now that the Macedonians had seized and fortified the rock at the north-west corner of Sion, and Judas, in opposition, had erected the Baris or castle below, the two names, Sion and the city of David, came to be distinguished; for invariably, in the Maccabees, by the city

¹ Or Renovation, Ἐγκαίνια; on 25 Chisleu.

² 1 Macc. x. 43.

³ 1 Macc. iv. 60.

⁴ Josephus adds that Judas repaired also the walls of the city, *τειχίσας ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν*. — *Ant.* xii. 7, 7. But Josephus evidently had no other authority than the Book of Maccabees, which mentions only the fortification of Sion. However, the walls of Sion formed part of those of the city.

⁵ 1 Chron. xi. 7. 2 Sam. v. 7.

of David is meant the Acra¹; and by Sion, the Temple mount, on which stood the Baris, afterwards Antonia.²

When Judas had secured the Temple, he naturally cherished the hope of reducing the Acra itself, and so killing the venomous reptile which had thus fastened itself upon the very vitals of the city. He therefore laid siege to the Acra, and prepared engines of war, and would have carried it by assault.³ But the Macedonians sent intelligence to Antiochus Eupator, who in B.C. 164 had succeeded Antiochus Epiphanes, and the relief of the Acra was thought of such importance that Eupator himself, at the head of a numerous army, hastened to its aid by way of Bethsura, the border town of Judæa, towards Idumæa.⁴ This movement had the desired effect; for Judas, abandoning the siege of Acra, marched to Bethsura, where he fought a bloody battle, in which his brother, Eleazar, after prodigies of valour, was slain. Judas found himself unable to cope with the vast numbers of the enemy, and retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to sustain a siege behind the strong walls and towers of the Temple platform. Eupator, meanwhile, became master of Bethsura, "for they came out of the city, because they had no victuals there to endure the siege, it being a year of rest to the land,"⁵ i. e. the sabbatic year, which fixes the capture to B. c. 163.

¹ 1 Macc. i. 33; ii. 31; vii. 32; xiv. 36.

² 1 Macc. iv. 37, 60; v. 54; vi. 62; vii. 33; x. 11.

³ 1 Macc. vi. 20. Ant. xii. 9, 3.

⁴ Fergusson writes: "Bethzur, a name in the Maccabees, continually applied to the tower Antonia," &c. (Fergusson, 60); but he could scarcely have read the following passage: "Simon fortified the cities of Judah, together with *Bethsura*, that lieth upon the borders of *Judæa*."—1 Macc. xiv. 33. Bethsura was not at Jerusalem, but at some distance to the south.

⁵ 1 Macc. vi. 49.

Eupator now followed Judas to Jerusalem, and besieged him in the Temple platform. Mounds, and towers, and engines of war were employed by the Syrian host, and on the side of Judas were mines, and ballists, and desperate sallies. Provisions in the little garrison, from the effect of the sabbatic year, began to run short, when a diversion arose from an unexpected quarter. Intelligence was brought that Philip was in arms, and daily increasing his army to enter the lists with Eupator for the crown of Syria. It was no time for dallying, and Eupator, after a council of war, resolved on patching up a peace. He therefore offered the honourable terms, that Judas should acknowledge the Syrian supremacy, but the Jews should live in the peaceful observance of their own religion, and the walls of the Temple mount should remain intact. The treaty was concluded, and Eupator was admitted into the Temple mount; but when he saw the impregnable fortifications by which it was begirt, he sacrificed his honour to policy. "Then the king entered into mount Sion, but when he saw the strength of the place, he broke his oath that he had made, and gave commandment to pull down the wall round about."¹ Eupator now appointed Alcimus, his own creature, high priest, and then advanced against Philip, whom he made captive and put to death.

Jerusalem was thus once more left naked to her enemies, and the Macedonians in Acra were again the tyrants of the city. The apostate Alcimus even proposed that the walls of the Inner Temple, which, as standing on an eminence, would long bid defiance to any enemy, as they did in the time of Titus, should be

¹ 1 Macc. vi. 62. Ant. xii. 9, 7.

thrown to the ground; but ere he could carry out his purpose he was struck by palsy, and dropped into his grave.¹

In B. c. 162 Eupator was succeeded by Demetrius Soter, who, as Judas was represented to be still maintaining himself in the campagna of Judæa, sent Nicanor with a powerful army to disperse the little band of patriots. Judas gave Nicanor battle, and defeated him, when Nicanor retired into the Acra at Jerusalem. "There were slain of Nicanor's side about 5000 men, and the rest fled into the city of David."² As Nicanor was coming down from the Acra to the Temple³, the high priest met him and tendered submission; but Nicanor was furious at his late overthrow, and threatened to destroy the Temple itself unless Judas were delivered up. However, he dared not abide the approach of Judas, but retreated to Bethoron, where he engaged in battle with Judas and was slain.⁴ Not long after, another army was sent by Demetrius, under the command of Bacchides, and the heroic Judas fell in the fight.⁵ This was in B. c. 156.

The lion of the Maccabean family was no more, but his brother Jonathan, scarcely less valiant, and perhaps more able in counsel, now stepped into his place. The fortunes of the patriots were at the lowest ebb.

¹ 1 Macc. ix. 54. Ant. xii. 10, 6.

² 1 Macc. vii. 32. The passage in Josephus, καὶ νικήσας [Nicanor] ἀναγκάζει τὸν Ἰούδαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν φυγεῖν (Ant. xii. 10, 4), is evidently corrupt. It should be καὶ νικήσας ὁ Ἰούδας ἀναγκάζει τὸν Νικάνορα ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν φυγεῖν.

³ ἔτι δὲ αὐτῷ κατιόντι ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας εἰς τὸ ἱερόν.—Ant. xii. 10, 5. 1 Macc. vii. 33. This passage also shows that the Acra was above the Temple, and therefore to the north of it.

⁴ Ant. xii. 10, 5. 1 Macc. vii. 43.

⁵ Ant. xii. 11, 22. 1 Macc. ix. 18.

Bacchides on his victory advanced to Jerusalem, and strengthened the Acra still more, and placed in it numerous hostages which he now wrung from the Jews.¹ Jonathan and his trusty followers meanwhile yielded to necessity, and, retiring to a distance, maintained their freedom in the desert.

It was in B. C. 152 that Alexander Bala, a competitor for the throne of Syria, landed at Acra, to try the chances of war with Demetrius. The danger was imminent, and Jonathan, who had been made an outcast, was now to be conciliated; and Demetrius wrote to him as a friend, and commissioned him to levy troops, and gave orders that the hostages in the Acra should be restored. Jonathan lost no time in seizing upon so favourable an opportunity, and without returning any answer to Demetrius, marched to Jerusalem and received back the hostages, and busied himself at once in repairing the fortifications of the city, and particularly in renewing and improving the outworks of the Temple platform: "And he commanded the workmen to build the walls and the mount Sion round about with square stones for fortification, and they did so."² The eastern wall of the Temple mount, however, was not completed, and the walls of the city were not carried to any great height. The antagonistic forces of the rival princes were so evenly balanced, that the favour of Jonathan on either side might turn the scale, and Alexander, to win him over, sent him a crown of gold and a purple robe, and nominated him high priest.³ Jonathan had suffered so much from Demetrius that he naturally leaned to the

¹ *μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀκρὰν ἰσχύρωσε*, etc.—*Ant.* xiii. 1, 3. 1 Macc. ix. 52.

² 1 Macc. x. 11. *Ant.* xiii. 2, 1.

³ 1 Macc. x. 20. *Ant.* xiii. 2, 3.

opposite party, and accepted with readiness the proffered friendship of Alexander. This was a fortunate decision, for Demetrius was defeated and slain, and in B.C. 150 Alexander Bala became king of Syria. Jonathan was now a favoured prince, but still a feudatory of Syria, and could never prevail on Alexander to withdraw the Macedonian garrison from the Acra.

In B.C. 145 Demetrius Nicator succeeded to the throne of Syria, and Jonathan thought it a seasonable opportunity to rid himself of the Acra. He therefore laid siege to it, but intelligence was sent off to Demetrius, and Jonathan was commanded to desist.¹ He afterwards made presents to Demetrius, and endeavoured by fair words to obtain the dismissal of the garrison; but the king was inexorable, and the poisoned barb planted in the side of Jerusalem still rankled there.²

In B. C. 137 Antiochus Sidetes became king of Syria, and Jonathan, who had taken his part in the contest against Demetrius, was in high favour at court, and now earnestly exhorted the people to raise the height of the city walls, and to restore the eastern wall of the Temple mount, which had been thrown down and never thoroughly repaired; and not only so, but also to draw a wall round the Acra, so as to starve the garrison into surrender.³ Jonathan, however, did not live to see his

¹ 1 Macc. xi. 20. Ant. xiii. 4, 9.

² Ant. xiii. 5, 2. 1 Macc. xi. 41.

³ συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντ' εἰς τὸ ἱερόν Ἰωνάθης συνεβουλεύετο τάτε τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπικατασκευάσασθαι τεῖχην, καὶ τὸ καθηρημένον τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν περιβόλου πάλιν ἀναστήσαι, etc. — Ant. xiii. 5, 11. "Upon this, they came together to build up the city, forasmuch as the wall towards the brook, on the east side, was fallen down."—1 Macc. xii. 37. It will be observed that this wall on the east is here called by implication a wall of the city, and not of the Temple proper, which was at the south-west corner of the Temple platform.

designs accomplished, but shortly afterwards fell into a snare by the treachery of his adversaries, and was put to death.¹

Of the five Maccabean brothers,—Judas, Jonathan, Eleazar, and John had come to a violent end, and Simon alone survived. Nothing daunted by the fate of his fraternity, he at once stood forth as the champion of national freedom, and was unanimously elected high priest. Fortunately, at this time, the Syrian empire was tottering to its fall, and the competitors for the throne paid little attention to what was passing in Judæa. Simon, therefore, disclaimed all allegiance to the Seleucidæ, and from the first year of his pontificate was dated the independence of the Jewish people.² Simon now made all haste to finish the walls of Jerusalem³; and then completed the circumvallation round the Acra, with the view of starving out the Macedonian garrison, too strongly entrenched to be taken by assault. Relief, though earnestly implored, arrived not from Syria, and at last the Acra surrendered, and Simon took possession of it “with thanksgiving and branches of palm-trees, and with harps and cymbals, and with viols and hymns and songs.”⁴ Thus, after a long struggle, the sting of the scorpion and the poison of the asp, which had so long infested the rock at the corner of the Temple plateau, disappeared for ever. The anniversary, from that time forward, was observed by the Jews as a day of solemn thanksgiving.⁵

So much suffering had been inflicted by the Acra on Jerusalem, that it was now resolved to raze the citadel, and even to cut away the very steep on which it stood.

¹ 1 Macc. xii. 48. Ant. xiii. 6, 2.

² Ant. xiii. 6, 7.

³ Ant. xiii. 6, 7. 1 Macc. xiii. 10.

⁴ 1 Macc. xiii. 51.

Ant. xiii. 6, 7. 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

This was a work of time and labour, but the Jews wrought incessantly by day and night, and at the end of three years the mount of the Acra, except a ledge of rock left as a wall for the protection of the city, had been removed, and the debris thrown into the valley on the western side, called, from this gigantic work of Simon, the Asmonean Valley.¹ The results of this national effort are still to be seen at the north-west corner of the Temple plateau, now the Haram, where, on the north, and partly on the west, the boundary of the inclosure is a wall of native rock; and, within, the bare rock is visible at the surface, reduced indeed to the general level, but still to the observant eye exhibiting the extent of the once famous Acra. Krafft imagined that he could trace the circular form of the keep², but it will be seen from the plan of the Haram esh Sherîf, that the western wall runs from the north-west corner in a straight line southward for about 200 feet, and then bends east, and we should infer from this that the fortress was quadrangular.

Sion, the site of the Baris or Antonia, had before been lower than the Acra, but now rose above it³; and henceforth Sion, in the place of the Acra, was the keep or citadel of the Low Town. The Baris erected upon it had originally been the vestry of the Temple, and was repaired by Nehemiah, under the name of "the palace (Heb. *Birah* or *Baris*) which appertaineth to the house,"⁴ and was afterwards fortified, as we have seen, by Judas Maccabæus, as a safeguard of the Temple

¹ Ant. xiii. 6, 7.

² Krafft, 12.

³ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξεῖχεν ἀπάντων τὸ ἱερὸν, τῆς Ἀκρας καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ' ᾧ ἦν ἀνηρημένον. — Ant. xiii. 6, 7. It will be observed that here, as in other places, Josephus in the Temple includes the Temple mount.

⁴ Neh. ii. 8.

against the Acra; and now Simon again added to the strength of the Baris, and selected it as his palace: "Moreover the hill of the Temple that was by the tower¹ he made stronger than it was, and there he dwelt himself with his company."

Simon, after a reign of eight years, was slain by treachery, and was succeeded by his son Hyrcanus, who also made the Baris his palace.² It is remarkable that when Hyrcanus was besieged by Antiochus Sidetes, the inhabitants were distressed for water, the only instance, it is believed, in which the city suffered in that way, as, though situate on a thirsty and arid mountain, it derived an abundant supply of water from its numerous cisterns and subterranean conduits.³ Peace was at length concluded between Hyrcanus and Antiochus, upon the terms that Hyrcanus should deliver hostages and raze the fortifications.⁴

Hyrcanus was succeeded by Aristobulus; and at the beginning of his reign occurred a romantic incident. He was much attached to his brother Antigonus, but "whispering tongues can poison truth," and calumny said that Antigonus was aiming at the throne. Aristobulus was living in the Baris⁵, and hearing that Antigonus had gone up to the Temple in armour, sent for him

¹ παρὰ τὴν Ἀκραν—1 Macc. xiii. 52.

² τῶν ἱερέων τὶς Ὑρκανὸς . . . ὁ πρῶτος, ἐπεὶ πλησίον τῷ ἱερῷ Βάριν κατασκευασάμενος ἐν ταύτῃ τὰ πολλὰ τὴν διαίταν εἶχεν. — Ant. xviii. 4, 3.

³ Ant. xiii. 8, 2.

⁴ καθεῖλε δὲ καὶ τὴν στεφάνην τῆς πόλεως. — Ant. xiii. 8, 3. Unless it can mean that Antiochus broke up the circumvallation with which he had surrounded the city, for ἀπετείχισε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας (Ant. xiii. 8, 2).

⁵ κατέκειτο δὲ ἐν τῇ Βάρει, μετονομασθείσῃ δὲ Ἀντωνία. — Ant. xiii. 11, 2.

into his presence, but to come *unarmed*; and at the same time gave orders to his guard that if Antigonus came unarmed he should pass free, but if in arms he should be put to death. The enemies of Antigonus reversed the message; and he was desired to hasten, *armed as he was*, into the palace. Antigonus was passing in armour from the Temple to the Baris by the underground passage which connected them¹, when the guard who had been posted there, seeing him armed, set upon him and assassinated him. The incident is mentioned as showing that the subterranean communication between Antonia and the Temple, referred to in the time of Herod, had existed long before, and was therefore only repaired and improved by Herod.²

After Aristobulus followed Alexander Jannæus; and then reigned his wife Alexandra as queen, her son, Hyrcanus II., being nominally high priest. On her death a struggle ensued between the two sons of Alexander, Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus. The former was at Jerusalem when the demise of Alexander occurred, and Aristobulus, at the head of a considerable army, was advancing from the north. The party of Hyrcanus had imprisoned the wife and family of Aristobulus during his absence in the Baris, which commanded the Temple³, and on the approach of Aristobulus, Hyrcanus sought to maintain himself in the

¹ ἔν τινι τῶν ὑπογαίων ἀφωτίστῳ . . . κατὰ τὸν Σράτωνος καλούμενον πύργον οὗ συνέβαινεν ἀφώτιστον εἶναι τὴν παράδον.—*Ant.* xiii. 11, 2.

² Josephus says that the passage κατεσκευάσθη τῷ βασιλεῖ (*Ant.* xv. 11, 7), and the reader of Josephus must have observed that κατασκευάζεσθαι, with him, is to set in order or repair, and not to originate.

³ εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ φρούριον.—*Ant.* xiii. 16, 5.

Baris.¹ However, the partisans of the lethargic Hyrcanus on the one side, and of the active-minded Aristobulus on the other, agreed upon a peace; and Aristobulus marched in state to the palace, while Hyrcanus retired to the private residence of Aristobulus.²

Afterwards Hyrcanus repented of these humiliating terms, and advanced, under the guidance of Antipater, the father of Herod, at the head of an Arabian force; and, having the people of Jerusalem on his side, took possession of the city, and besieged Aristobulus in the Temple³, but the siege was raised by Scaurus, at the command of Pompey, in B.C. 63.

Pompey afterwards, finding Hyrcanus a more pliant instrument, and better adapted to his purposes than the spirited Aristobulus, put the latter in bonds and marched against Jerusalem. The city is here, as elsewhere, described as weak only on the north (being surrounded on the other sides by broad and deep ravines); and the Temple is represented as strongly fortified by a stone ambit of its own⁴, not only on the north, east, and south, but also on the west toward the city.⁵ On Pompey's arrival under the walls, the population was divided, the partisans of Hyrcanus urging

¹ φεύγει πρὸς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἔνθα συνέβαινε κατεῖρχθαι τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς.—*Ant.* xiv. 1, 2.

² ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ μὲν [Aristobulus] εἰς τὰ βασιλεια, Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ὡς ιδιώτης εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου.—*Ant.* xiv. 1, 2.

³ προσβαλὼν τῷ ἱερῷ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπολιόρκει.—*Ant.* xiv. 2, 1.

⁴ ἐντὸς ἀπολαμβάνουσα τὸ ἱερὸν λιθίνῳ περιβόλῳ καρτερῶς πάνυ τετειχισμένον.—*Ant.* xiv. 4, 1.

⁵ τότε ἱερὸν ἐντὸς τῆς φάραγγος ὀχυρώτατα τετειχισμένον, ὥστε τοῦ ἀστεὸς ἀλίσκομένου δευτέραν εἶναι καταφυγὴν τοῦτο τοῖς πολεμίοις.—*Bell.* i. 7, 1.

an immediate surrender, and those of Aristobulus a defence to the last extremity. The faction of Hyrcanus prevailed, and the followers of Aristobulus threw themselves into the Temple, and broke away the bridge which led to it from the city.¹ By the Temple must be meant, not the Temple itself, but the plateau on which it stood, for the Temple had no towers or fosse; but the wall of the plateau on the north had great and strong towers, and was protected by a deep ditch.² Hyrcanus and his party delivered up the city and the palace to Pompey³; from which it is evident that the palace occupied by the Asmonean princes at this time was not, as formerly, in the Baris on the Temple plateau, but in the city itself. Indeed, we know that it stood in the High Town, and overlooked the Xyst, and was occupied, when the last war with the Romans broke out, by Agrippa and his sister Berenice.⁴ Pompey made his advances against the Temple plateau from the north, and after much trouble filled up the

¹ τὸ ἱερόν καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ τὴν . . . γέφυραν . . . ἔκοψαν. — *Ant.* xiv. 4, 2. *Bell.* i. 7, 2. It is not necessary to suppose that the whole bridge, which was very massive, was destroyed, but only that the upper part, contiguous to the Temple, was broken away.

² ἀνεστήκεσαν δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα μεγάλοι πύργοι, καὶ τάφρος δὲ ὀρώρυκτο. — *Ant.* xiv. 4, 2. ἀντεῖχον δ' ἐπὶ πλεῖστον οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος πύργοι μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντες. — *Bell.* i. 7, 3. Strabo also refers to the great fosse on the north, though he errs in the exact dimensions: τάφρον λατομητὴν ἔχων, βάθος μὲν ἐξήκοντα ποδῶν πλάτος δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λίθου λατομηθέντος ἐπεπύργητο τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἱεροῦ. — *Strabo*, xvi. 2. The real measurements of the fosse at present are about 131 feet in width, and 75 feet in depth. As Strabo uses the expression ἐπεπύργητο, and the cloisters of the Temple had no towers; he can only allude to the outer wall round the Temple.

³ τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασιλεία. — *Ant.* xiv. 4, 2.

⁴ *Ant.* xx. 8, 11.

fosse, and beat down the towers, and so became master of the Temple.¹

Hyrcanus was now reestablished in the high-priesthood by Pompey; but many years after, viz. B.C. 40, he was again expelled by the Parthians, who made Antigonus king. However, the Romans, in opposition, appointed Herod king, and in B. C. 37 Herod commenced the siege of Jerusalem. It is expressly said on this occasion, that Herod took up his position before the Temple on the north² as Pompey had done before³, and the part that was *first* taken was the Temple.⁴ Herod, to do this, captured successively two walls, the first in forty days, and the second in fifteen, when some of the cloisters round the Temple were burnt.⁵ These two walls, therefore, could be none other than,

¹ Ant. xiv. 4, 3. Bell. i. 7, 3. It is said that Pompey encamped "within," on the north side of the Temple: Πομπηϊός δὲ ἔσωθεν στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸ βόρειον τοῦ ἱεροῦ μέρος (Ant. xiv. 4, 2); but ἔσωθεν does not mean within the city, for the north of the Temple was not covered by the city wall, but within the circumvallation, which Josephus had just before stated to have been thrown up by Pompey, to prevent any escape of the besieged. It is particularly mentioned that Herod encamped where Pompey had done before (Ant. xiv. 15, 14), and this was certainly without the city; and Herod had to master two walls, viz. that of the plateau and that of the Temple itself, before he was in possession of the Temple. Ant. xiv. 16, 2.

² καταστρατοπεδεύονται τοῦ βορείου τείχους πλησίον. — Bell. i. 17, 9.

³ πλησίον ἐλθὼν τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον πρό τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταστρατοπεδεύεται, προσβαλεῖν διεγνωκῶς ὥς καὶ πρότερον πότε Πομπηϊός. — Ant. xiv. 15, 14.

⁴ πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἡλίσκετο. — Bell. i. 18, 2.

⁵ ἤρεθθη γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τεῖχος ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον πεντεκαίδεκα, καὶ τινες τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνεπρήσθησαν στοῶν. — Ant. xiv. 16, 2. The cloisters of the Inner Temple could not be meant, as they still held out.

first, the wall of the Temple platform, and then the wall of the outer Temple, containing the cloisters. The possession of the platform gave Herod the command of the Low Town, and accordingly the partisans of Antigonus now fled into the Inner Temple and the Upper City.¹ But both were afterwards taken by assault or surrendered. Antigonus himself had retired into the Baris, called afterwards Antonia; and though the platform of the Temple was occupied by Herod's forces, Antigonus still maintained himself in the midst of them. But when all the rest of the city was taken, he felt his case to be desperate, and surrendered at discretion.² He was shortly afterwards put to death by Mark Antony, at the instance of Herod, and so ceased the dynasty of the Asmoneans or Maccabees.

¹ ἡρημένου δὲ τοῦ ἑξωθεν ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς κάτω πόλεως, εἰς τὸ ἔσωθεν ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν Ἰουδαῖοι συνέφυγον. — *Ant.* xiv. 16, 2.

² κάτεισι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Βάρεως. — *Ant.* xiv. 16, 2. *Bell.* i. 18, 2.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE CITY AND TEMPLE IN THE TIME OF THE HERODS.

WE now take Josephus for our guide, and shall follow his description of—1. The city generally ; 2. The walls ; 3. The Temple ; 4. Fort Antonia ; 5. The Acropolis, or Temple platform.

We may remark *in limine* that Josephus had intended to write a full and particular description of Jerusalem ¹ (a design which he never accomplished), and that all he has left us is a mere sketch or outline, introduced for the purpose of better illustrating the history of the last great war.

I. OF THE CITY.

“The city,” says Josephus, “protected by three walls, where not encompassed by inaccessible ravines (for in that part was only one wall), was seated face to face upon *two hills*.² And of these hills the one which supported the Upper Town was the more regular in its length. . . . But the other, which was called Acra, and sustained the Low Town, was gibbous. And over against this [the lower hill]³ was a *third*

¹ Bell. v. 5, 8.

² So Tacitus: "Nam duos colles immensum editos claudebant muri per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati." — *Tac. Hist.* v. 11.

³ The passage may perhaps be punctuated thus: "The Low Town was like a crescent, and was over against this [the upper hill]. There was a third hill," &c.

hill, both lower by nature than Acra and separated formerly [from the *city* on the west] by *another* broad ravine. But in after times, under the dynasty of the Asmoneans, they both filled up the ravine from a desire to join *the city to the Temple*¹, and, cutting down the height of the Acra [the Macedonian keep at the north-west of the Temple], made it lower, in order that the Temple might overlook that also. But the *ravine called the Tyropæon*, which, as we have said, *divides the hill of the Upper Town and the lower hill*, reaches as far as Siloam. But, from without, the two hills of the city were surrounded by deep ravines, and there was no approach by reason of the ravines on either side.”² And a little further on the historian adds, that by the wall of Agrippa a *fourth* hill called Bezetha was enclosed and became part of the city.³

The above description is found substantially to accord with the present features of Jerusalem. The two hills, with the ravine between them called the Tyropæon and running down to Siloam, are easily distinguishable. The upper hill is that on the west now erroneously named Sion, and called in these pages Pseudo-Sion. The lower hill is the eastern ridge which extends to Siloam, and was defended on the north by the Macedonian keep called Acra, whence the name of the ridge itself and of the town upon it. The upper hill was, according to Josephus, “the more regular in its length,” i. e. from north to south, and accordingly Barclay

¹ So in another place: ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἔχωσαν τὰς φάραγγας, ἀνισοῦν βουλόμενοι τοῦς στενωποὺς τοῦ ἁστεως. — *Bell.* v. 5, 1.

² *Bell.* v. 4, 1.

³ τέταρτον λόφον, ὃς καλεῖται Βεζεθα, κείμενος μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀντωνίας. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

speaks of it as "approximating to the shape of a regular parallelogram."¹

The *lower hill* is said to have been gibbous, or in the form of a crescent², and it will be seen from the plan that the eastern hill tapers down towards the south, where it ends at Siloam in a point inclining to the west. It is not necessary to understand Josephus, by the word ἀμφίκυρτος, to mean that the Low Town was a crescent with *two* horns; but even in that sense the description would not be inaccurate, for the tract enclosed by the second wall, as we shall see presently, was regarded as part of the Low Town, and on that assumption the Low Town (exclusive of the New Town, but inclusive of the Temple) was broadest at the north-east, and became gradually contracted not only towards the south upon Ophel, but also towards the west above the High Town.

The *third* hill, which was subordinate to, and comprised under, the *second* hill, and which is said to have been originally separate from the city, but afterwards incorporated with it by filling up the intervening valley, was Moriah, the mount on which the Temple was erected. This is evident from the statement that the "third hill" was naturally lower than the Acra, but that, by reducing the height of the Acra, "the Temple was made to overlook the Acra," so that the third hill and the Temple are spoken of as synonymous. In strictness, however, the third hill was the Temple *mount*, the site of the Baris or Antonia, just north of the Temple; but as the Baris or Antonia was at the same time the vestry and the fortress of the Temple, and was actually united to it by Herod,

¹ Barclay, 417.

² ἀμφίκυρτος. — Bell. v. 4, 1.

Josephus here, as elsewhere, includes the Temple mount under the name of the *Temple*.

It is not uncommonly supposed that the Temple mount was once divided from the Acra at the north-west corner of the Temple platform by a ravine running between them *from east to west*, and that this was the ravine filled up by the Asmoneans; but clearly this cannot be, for Josephus tells us that the ravine was filled up from a desire to join the Temple, not to the Acra, which was on the north, but to the city, which was on the west.¹ The idea of a ravine running across the Temple platform from east to west is purely chimerical.

The *fourth* hill, or Bezetha, was situate to the north of the Temple platform, and is identical with that on which stands the mosque Mulawiyeh. The eastern ridge there attains a considerable height, equal or nearly so to that of the western.² The present north wall of the city runs along the brow of it, and beneath it lies the great subterranean quarry called the Cotton grotto. As Bezetha and Antonia were both on the same ridge, Bezetha was said to be over against Antonia³, which will serve to explain in what sense the Temple mount is spoken of as over against Acra⁴; that is, the Temple mount and the Macedonian Acra were both on the same ridge, the one overlooking the other.

As to the *two valleys* mentioned by Josephus, one, the Tyropœon, which separated the High and Low Towns, commences at what is now called the Jaffa

¹ Bell. v. 4, 1; v. 5, 1.

² Rob. i. 266.

³ κείμενος μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀντωνίας. — Bell. v. 4, 2.

⁴ ἄτερος δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Ἀκρα. . . . Τούτου δὲ ἀντικρὺ τρίτος ἦν λόφος, etc. — Bell. v. 4, 1.

gate, and, running thence eastward to the Haram, turns there towards the south to Siloam, so that the western hill, or the Upper Town, was literally, as Josephus elsewhere describes it, "surrounded on all sides by ravines,"¹ viz. by the Tyropœon on the north and east, and by the Valley of Hinnom on the south and west. But the Tyropœon on the north was probably never very deep, or Josephus, alluding to this part, would not have said that the city had three walls where it was *not* girt in by inaccessible ravines.² But, on the other hand, the fall of ground must have been considerable, for the northern limb of the first wall is said to have been erected on a high brow³; and again, when Titus had mastered successively the third and second walls, he could not take the Upper Town without casting up mounds against it, by reason of the precipices.⁴

This part of the ravine, from the Jaffa gate to the Haram, can at the present day be traced only by the rise of ground, which is still very perceptible on the right hand as you walk down the street from the gate to the Haram.⁵ The quantity of *débris* collected at the foot of the High Town may be understood from the simple fact, that, in digging for a foundation near the Jaffa gate, a chapel (itself comparatively modern) was discovered at the depth of 25 feet from the present

¹ *περίκρημνον*. — *Bell.* viii. 8, 1.

² *Bell.* v. 4, 1.

³ *ἐφ' ὑψηλῷ λόφῳ*. — *Bell.* v. 4, 4.

⁴ *Bell.* vi. 8, 1.

⁵ *Robins. B.R.* i. 264; iii. 208. The author of Murray's Handbook for Syria, who had twice visited Jerusalem, remarks: "From the top of the Pasha's house, or some commanding spot near the north-west angle of the Haram, we distinctly observe a considerable depression, commencing at the Jaffa gate, and running down eastward in the line of the street of David."—P. 94.

surface.¹ It was at this point that the Romans under Titus cast up two mounds against the High Town², and this alone would account in great measure for the disappearance of the valley.

The "*other ravine*" spoken of by Josephus as separating the *Temple* from the *city*, and therefore on the west of the Temple, is now known as the Mill Valley, and descends obliquely from the Damascus gate to the Haram, where it falls into the Tyropœon. The Asmoneans are said to have cast the spoil from the demolition of the Macedonian Acra into this valley to fill it up, but the hollow, though the depth of it by this means was much reduced, was not entirely effaced, for even in the time of Josephus the most northern of the four western gates of the Temple led down to the valley by steps, and then up again to the city.³ The opinion advanced by some, that this valley to the west of the Temple was the Tyropœon, is at once displaced by the fact that the historian expressly speaks of the Asmonean Valley as the "*other valley*," and therefore distinct from the Tyropœon, which he had before described as separating the High and Low Towns, and running down to Siloam.

The *High Town*, which was seated upon the upper hill, was exclusively confined to Pseudo-Sion, and comprehended no part of the quarter inclosed by the second or third wall. Thus, when Titus first reconnoitred the city, he conceived the design of opening the attack upon the third or outer wall, at the monument of the high priest John, because, as the first wall lay exposed on the north in the part between the third wall which started from Hip-

¹ Robins. B. R. iii. 184, 208.

² Bell. v. 9, 2.

³ Ant. xv. 11, 5.

picus, and the second wall which started from Gen-nath, he might thus, without taking the second wall, be able to assault the "High Town" or Pseudo-Sion¹; so that the Upper Town was regarded as distinct from the quarters enclosed either by the third or second wall.

Again, when Titus had taken successively the third and second walls, he then proceeded against the "High Town," so that the High Town was not considered as comprised within either the third or second wall.²

Again, of the four western gates of the Temple, one, the most southerly, led to the "High Town," and another, the most northerly, led to the "other city," or Low Town.³ The northern limit of the High Town ran therefore, at least towards the east, in a line between the northern and southern gates on the west of the Temple, i. e. the High Town did not extend beyond Pseudo-Sion.

The *Low Town* lay principally, but not exclusively, on the eastern hill or Ophel. That the main part of it was on the lower or eastern hill is evident from Josephus's description of the two hills before given; and there are other passages to the same effect.

Thus the Acra, or Macedonian keep, which certainly stood on the eastern hill, at the north-west corner of the Temple enclosure, now the Haram, is said to have been built in the Low Town⁴; and, when the Acra was razed, Antonia, which stood next it on the south, became the garrison of the *Low Town*, as Herod's palace was of the High Town.⁵

¹ Τὴν ἄνω πόλιν. — *Bell.* v. 6, 2.

² *Bell.* vi. 8, 1.

³ *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

⁴ ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει. — *Ant.* xii. 5, 4.

⁵ φρούριον γὰρ ἐπέκειτο τῇ πόλει μὲν [the Low Town] τὸ ἱερὸν, τῷ

Again, when Titus had taken the second wall, he encouraged his soldiers against Antonia, by saying that the possession of Antonia, would make them masters of *the city*¹, that is of the Low Town; for at that time the tract on the west of the Temple was already in the hands of Titus, and was therefore out of the question; and the High Town could not be meant, as the possession of Antonia would have no effect upon it.

Again, when Antonia and the Temple had fallen into the hands of the Romans, Titus (on the Jews in the High Town refusing to surrender) burnt the buildings about the Temple, as the Archive (the old Gate of Benjamin in the middle of the north wall of the Temple platform), the Acra or fortress substituted for the old Acra at the north-west corner of the platform, the Council-house on the west of the platform, and Ophla on the south of the platform; and from the latter the fire spread down to the palace of Helena, “in the middle of Acra,” where plainly by Acra is meant the city on the eastern hill, or Ophel, to the south of the Temple.² The Jews then drove the Romans out of the palace of Helena (which could not have been, had it lain within the second wall, which had been long in the hands of the Romans³), and the next day Titus retook the palace, and forced the Jews wholly “from the *Low Town*, and burnt it down to *Siloam*,”⁴—an indisputable

ἱερῷ δὲ ἡ Ἀντωνία. κατὰ δὲ ταύτην οἱ τῶν τριῶν φύλακες ἦσαν, καὶ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ἴδιον φρούριον ἦν τὰ Ἡρώδου βασιλεία. — *Bell.* v. 5, 8.

¹ ἀναβάντες γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἔχομεν τὴν πόλιν. — *Bell.* vi. 1, 5.

² *Bell.* vi. 7, 1.

³ *Bell.* v. 6, 3.

⁴ τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς Ῥωμαῖοι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς ληστὰς ἐκ τῆς κάτω πόλεως τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Σιλωὰμ πάντα ἐνέπρησαν. — *Bell.* vi. 7, 2.

proof that the Low Town was on Ophel, and reached down to Siloam.

This site of the palace of Helena, in the middle of the eastern hill, throws light incidentally on another passage relating to the Low Town, where it is said that, in the siege by Titus, John held the Temple and the immediate precincts, and that Simon was in possession of the High Town, "and the fountain [Siloam] and Acra which is the Low Town (ἡ κάτω πόλις), viz. (καὶ) the parts as far as the palace of Helena" (that is, as far as the middle of the eastern hill), while the interval between the palace and the Temple was ravaged by both factions.¹

This Queen Helena was the mother of Monobazus, and the two palaces of Helena and Monobazus were, as we should expect, very near to each other; for *Helena's* palace was in the middle of Ophel, and Josephus describes the first wall as running along the east of Ophel, from Siloam down to the palace of *Monobazus*.²

However, the Low Town was not confined to the eastern hill, or Ophel, but also comprised, on the west of the Temple, the tract inclosed by the second wall. This, we think, will appear from several considerations.

In the first place the tract within the second wall must, as being no part of Bezetha, the New Town, have belonged either to the High Town or Low Town. Originally it was separated from each by a ravine, viz. from the High Town by the Tyropœon, and from the Low Town by the Asmonean Valley; but when the latter was filled up by the Asmoneans, and the

¹ Bell. v. 6, 1.

² τοῦτε ἀρχαίου τείχους ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς Σιλωᾶς ἀνακάμπτον εἰς ἀνατολήν, ὃ μέχρι τοῦ Μονοβάζου κατέβαινε αὐλῆς. — Bell. v. 6, 1.

Engraved by F. H. Miller
London: Longman & Co.

quarter within the second wall was united to the Temple, it came to be regarded as part of the Low Town. Thus the *High Town* is described by Josephus as surrounded *on all sides* by ravines¹, which would be contrary to the fact if the High Town comprised the quarter enclosed by the second wall, which had no ravine on the north or west. On the other hand, the *Low Town* is said to have been originally intersected by a ravine, which was afterwards filled up by the Asmoneans; and as the ravine in question must have been that on the west of the Temple, it follows that the tract opposite to the Temple, that is, the part circumscribed by the second wall, was regarded as parcel of the Low Town.²

So when John, in the war against Simon, erected four towers at the four corners of the Temple, that at the north-west corner, which faced the quarter inclosed by the second wall, is described as being over against the *Low Town*.³ And, again, Josephus writes that of the four gates on the western side of the Temple, one led to the "High Town," and the two next to the "Suburb" between the Temple and the High Town, and the most northern to the "*other city*,"⁴ that is, the *Low Town*.

In fact, this accretion to the city on the west of the Temple, being commanded in a military point of view, not by Herod's palace in the High Town, from which it was divided by a ravine, but by the Baris or Antonia on the Temple Mount⁵, was on that account reckoned not into the High Town but into the Low Town. True, the *western portion* of the swell of ground at the north of the High Town may be more elevated, perhaps,

¹ Bell. vi. 8, 1.

² Bell. v. 4, 1.

³ ἀντικρὺ τῆς κάτω πόλεως. — Bell. iv. 9, 12. And see v. 1, 3.

⁴ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. — Ant. xv. 11, 5.

⁵ Bell. v. 5, 8.

than the High Town, but the *eastern portion* of the swell, which was the part enclosed by the second wall, was much lower than the High Town. For want of a better name, we should designate the area within the second wall as the Inner Low Town, in contradistinction to the Outer Low Town upon the ridge of the eastern hill.

There was afterwards added, by the erection of the wall of Agrippa in A.D. 43, a *third* quarter of the city, called Bezetha or New Town. This occupied all the northern portion of the city, from Hippicus on the west to the Temple platform on the east, but exclusive of the tract comprised within the second wall. As Bezetha was first inclosed by the third or Agrippa's wall, the course of which is a problem of extreme difficulty, we shall reserve the limits of the New Town for future discussion.

Josephus, with reference to the city generally, observes that, "from without, the two hills of the city were surrounded by deep ravines, and there was no approach by reason of the ravines on either side."¹ Some understand the historian by this to say that the *whole* city was encircled by ravines, and therefore impugn his accuracy in this respect; but he could not have meant this, as it would be inconsistent with his other statement that Jerusalem lay exposed on the north.² The drift of the passage appears to be this. He had before stated that where the city was not girt

¹ "Ἐξωθεν δὲ οἱ τῆς πόλεως δύο λόφοι βαθύαις φάραγξι περιείχοντο, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν κρημνοὺς προσιτὸν οὐδαμόθεν ἦν.—*Bell.* v. 4, 1.

² περιεχομένη βαθύα φάραγγι κατὰ πᾶν τὸ νότιον κλίμα.—*Ant.* xv. 11, 5. οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ τὰς φάραγγας ἦν πρὸς προσιτὸν, καὶ κατὰ θάτερα τὸ πρῶτον τεῖχος ἐφαίνετο τῶν ὀργάνων στερεώτερον.—*Bell.* v. 6, 2.

in by inaccessible ravines, it was defended by as many as three walls. "But," he continues, "from without, i. e. where there is only one wall, there are inaccessible ravines." And this is exactly the case; for the two hills are protected on the west and south by the Valley of Hinnom, and on the east by the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and between the two runs the subordinate Valley of Tyropœon. From these natural defences no attack was ever made by a besieging enemy upon Jerusalem on the east, west¹, or south sides of the High Town, but always on the north.

II. OF THE WALLS.

Even stone walls cannot fail to awaken some degree of interest, when it is remembered that upon the result of the inquiry depends the question, Where was Mount Calvary? and where the Holy Sepulchre?

In the time of Nehemiah, the two companies of thanksgiving, in their perambulation of the walls, both started in opposite directions from the Valley, or Jaffa, gate as a salient point, and Josephus commences his description from the same quarter, viz. from the tower Hippicus.² This was one of the three famous towers erected by Herod in the wall at the north of his palace, which stood at the north-west corner of the High Town.³

¹ We should except, perhaps, the mounds thrown up by Titus against the palace on the west. Bell. vi. 8, 1 and 4.

² Bell. v. 4, 2.

³ Mr. Thrupp thinks that the palace could hardly have stood, as commonly assumed, "in the north-western corner of the upper city;" for that (1) in the rebellion which led to the siege by Titus, "we are told that the fire began at Antonia, passed onward to the palace, and consumed the roofs of the three towers (Bell. v. 4, 4), which would seem to imply that it reached the palace before the towers; and (2) Josephus speaks of one of the four western gates

Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne were erected on an eminence represented by Josephus to be 45 feet high.¹ Hippicus was a square of $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet each way, and solid to the height of 45 feet. Phasaelus was a square of 60 feet each way, and was solid to an equal height.² Mariamne was 30 feet square, and also solid to an equal height.³ The rock which sustained these costly and imposing structures still remains, and is 42 feet high⁴, thus wanting only 3 feet of the elevation given to it by Josephus. The *base* only of Hippicus survives, being the foundation of the north-west tower of the present citadel, and is marked A on the accompanying plan. It measures 45 feet square, so that Josephus's $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet, if exact, must have been applied to the tower erected

of the Temple as leading by the bridge or causeway into the palace, where it can only be the palace of Herod that is meant."—*Anc. Jerus.* 191.

As to the first argument, Mr. Thrupp understands Josephus to speak literally of the progress of some particular fire, whereas the historian is plainly referring only in general terms to the calamitous events which he had previously recorded, viz. that Antonia was first burnt (*Bell.* ii. 17, 7), and that subsequently the three famous towers of the palace shared the same fate (*Bell.* ii. 17, 8). Josephus cannot mean that the towers of the palace caught fire from Antonia; for the two edifices were separated by a valley and very distant from each other, and the two fires occurred at different times.

As to the second argument, Mr. Thrupp assumes that the bridge of the Temple across the Tyropæon led to the palace of Herod, whereas the palace in question was not that of Herod, but the Asmonean palace, occupied by King Agrippa, which stood on the brow of Pseudo-Sion and overlooked the Xyst and the bridge which led to it. *Bell.* ii. 16, 3; vi. 6, 2. *Ant.* xx. 8, 11.

¹ εἰς τριάκοντα πήχεις.—*Bell.* v. 4, 4.

² τὸ μὲν πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἴσον εἶχε τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν ἕκαστον, ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ἦν τὸ ναστὸν αὐτοῦ ὕψος.—*Bell.* v. 4, 3.

³ *Bell.* v. 4, 3.

⁴ See Williams's Holy City.

upon this broader base. Phasaelus still exists, and is marked B on the accompanying plan.¹ It is 56 feet 4 inches by 70 feet 3 inches², and thus corresponds very fairly to Josephus's measurement of 60 feet square. It is solid to the height of 40 feet, with much rubbish at the foot, so that several feet more in depth must be allowed. The stones are bevelled³ like those round the Haram, and have evidently never been disturbed. This is the one conspicuous object on the right hand as the traveller enters the Jaffa gate, and is miscalled Hippicus, being really Phasaelus. The site of Mariamne is no longer traceable, but may be placed at the point c on the accompanying plan. The three towers, though described generally as in the *north* wall of the High Town, were probably not precisely in a line from east to west⁴; for it is said that the north wall ran along the crest of the High Town, but that the three towers stood upon an isolated eminence which rose above the general elevation of this part of the hill.⁵ The palace, defended

¹ See a view of it from the north, in Traill's Josephus, ii. 126; Bartlett's Jerus. 85: and from the west, Traill's Josephus, ii. 215; Bartlett's Jerusalem Revisit. 19; Barclay, 43.

² Robins. B. R. i. 308.

³ It has been argued that the bevelling proves this tower to be not one of the three described by Josephus, as he speaks of them as having each the appearance of one vast rock cut artificially into form, and therefore, it is said, presenting an even surface. But the words of Josephus may mean equally well "cut artificially into panelling:" *συνήνωντο δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ὥς δοκεῖν ἕκαστον πύργον μίαν εἶναι πέτραν ἀναπεφυκυῖαν, ἔπειτα δὲ περιεξέσθαι χερσὶ τεχνιτῶν εἰς σχῆμα καὶ γωνίας· οὕτως οὐδαμόθεν ἢ συνάφεια τῆς ἀρμονίας διεφαίρετο.* — *Bell.* v. 4, 4.

⁴ The north wall itself was perhaps not straight, as the brow of Pseudo-Sion in this part, according to the maps, makes a bend southward.

⁵ αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν ἐφ' ὑψηλῷ λόφῳ δεδόμετο, καὶ τοῦ λόφου καθάπερ κορυφή τις ὑψηλοτέρα προανέιχεν εἰς τριάκοντα

on the north by these three towers, reached far back on the south, and with its walks and plantations occupied what is now the garden of the Armenian convent, an area 650 yards by 250 yards.¹ The west wall of the palace, forming part of the city wall, was used for barracks, and was on this account left standing by Titus as a shelter to his own soldiery who remained in garrison.²

From Hippicus the western limb of the first wall ran southward along the brink of the Valley of Hinnom, by Bethso (the Hebrew for dung-place³), to the Gate of the Essenes, probably the dung gate of Nehemiah.⁴ This course of the wall may be still traced along the western side of Pseudo-Sion, in the line of the present wall, by the escarpment of the rock on the western side of the garden of the Armenian convent. The wall is on the interior 18 feet high, but on the exterior $33\frac{1}{2}$ feet, showing a difference of $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet⁵; to this extent, therefore, the rock has been cut down and faced with masonry. Along the western brow of Pseudo-Sion, outside the present city on the south, is a narrow higher ridge, supposed to mark the line of the old wall⁶; and quite at the south-west corner of Pseudo-Sion the escarpment of the rock, as if for the foundation of the wall, has been noticed.⁷

πήχεις, ὑπὲρ ἣν οἱ πύργοι κείμενοι πολὺ δὴ τι τοῦ μετεώρου προσελάμβανον. — *Bell.* v. 4, 4. ¹ Handbook for Syria, p. 94.

² τεῖχος δὲ ὅσον ἦν ἐξ ἐσπέρας τὴν πόλιν περιέχον. — *Bell.* vii. 1, 1.

³ בֵּית צִדְדִּי.

⁴ πρὸς δύσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν ἀρχόμενον χωρίου, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βηθσω καλουμένου, κατατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑσσηνῶν πύλην. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2. It will be observed that here, as elsewhere, πρὸς with reference to any quarter means facing it.

⁵ Tobl. Top. i. 62.

⁶ Robins. B. R. i. 310.

⁷ Robins. B. R. i. 311. Tobl. Dritte Wand. 337.

From the Dung gate the wall "facing the south, made a turn over or above Siloam,"¹ which must have been by a bend up the Tyropœon Valley, along the edge of the High Town, and then back again along the edge of the Low Town, or Ophel.

Its course from Bethso eastward cannot be traced by any remains, except that some bevelled stones, apparently belonging to this wall, have been found in a direction from south-east to north-west, near the first tower westward from the present Dung gate²; and except that the escarpment of the rock, as if for a wall, has been observed by Robinson both on the west and east sides of the Tyropœon.³ As the aqueduct runs round the south of Pseudo-Sion, and of course preserves a perfect level, we have drawn the third wall side by side with the aqueduct, but a little above it. This would be the natural line of the wall, and, so far as I am aware, there are no signs of ancient habitation, as tanks or cisterns, beyond these limits. Some would have it that the wall crossed the mouth of the Tyropœon at Siloam without any curve; but the testimony of Josephus is express that the wall made a bend here, and no vestige of a wall across the mouth of the valley has ever been discovered, though often searched for.

The wall from Siloam, "with its face to the east, stretched away northward to Solomon's Pool, and,

¹ ὑπὲρ τὴν Σιλωάμ. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2. ὑπὲρ with an accusative implies, according to Thrupp, p. 139, motion past or beyond a place. But it may also signify "over" or "above." As: ὑπὲρ κορυφὴν. — *Bell.* iv. 3, 10. ταύτῃ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ξυστὸν ἦσαν πύλαι. — *Ib.* vi. 6, 2; vi. 3, 2. ὑπὲρ ἣν [κορυφὴν] οἱ πύργοι κείμενοι. — *Ib.* v. 4, 4. ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄστρον ἔσται. — *Ib.* vi. 5, 3. ὑπὲρ τὰς ἱερὰς πύλας ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων μετώπων τίθενται τὰ ὅπλα. — *Ib.* v. 1, 2, &c.

² *Tobl. Top.* i. 60.

³ *Robins. B. R.* iii. 189.

holding on as far as the place called Ophla, joined the eastern portico of the Temple.”¹

By Solomon's Pool, which the wall passed before it reached the Temple, the historian may either mean the Fountain of the Virgin, a small pool excavated in the rock, about half-way between Siloam and the south-east corner of the Temple, or more probably the large pool which once stood at the south-east of the Temple, and of which the ruins are noticed by Tobler.² The Bordeaux Pilgrim, in A.D. 333, mentions two great pools at the side of the Temple, one on the right and the other on the left, and calls them Solomon's Pools.³ As the one on the right was no doubt Bethesda on the north, the other, on the left, would lie on the south, and would be the pool alluded to by Josephus.

As the wall at Ophla joined, not the southern, but the eastern cloister of the Temple, and the Temple was a square of 600 feet, situate at the south-west corner of the Haram, the point of contact of the city wall and the Temple wall at the eastern cloister would be 600 feet from the west end of the southern wall of the Haram. Ophla, which was at the south of the Temple, at the eastern end, appears to have been a quarter set apart for the pastophoria or chambers of the priests⁴, and the lodgings of the servants of the Temple, “The Nethinims who dwelt in Ophel.”⁵

On the *north* of the High Town, the first wall ran from Hippicus along the brow of the hill in an easterly

¹ ἔπειτα πρὸς νότον ὑπὲρ τὴν Σιλωὰμ ἐπιστρέφον πηγὴν, ἔνθεν τε πάλιν ἐκκλίνον πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομῶνος κολυμβήθραν, καὶ διῆκον μέχρι χώρου τινὸς ὃν καλοῦσιν Ὀφλὰν τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν στοᾷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ συνῆπται. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

² Tobl. Top. ii. 78.

³ Itinerar. Hieros.

⁴ See *Bell.* vi. 6, 3; ii. 17, 9.

⁵ Nehem. iii. 26.

direction, till it struck the ravine between the High Town and the Temple, that is, until it reached the Xyst, when it passed the Council-house, and so united itself to the western cloister of the Temple.¹ As the northern wall is said to have run, not to the northern, but to the western Cloister, we may infer that it joined the western cloister, not at the north-west corner, but a little lower down. The fourth of the western gates of the Temple, which led to "the other city," must have stood just without the northern wall of the High Town, where it joined the Temple; for, of the four western gates of the Temple, one, the southern, led to the High Town, and the two next down to the suburb², and the fourth is described as descending by several steps into the valley, and then up again to the other city.

The Xyst, which was touched by the north wall of the High Town, was a place of exercise and public recreation, borrowed from the Greeks, and signifying in Greek a plain or levelled area. In the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, Jason, the brother of Onias the high priest, offered to pay the king of Syria 150 talents for permission to erect a gymnasium at Jerusalem after the fashion of the heathen³, and license being granted he formed a gymnasium under the Acropolis.⁴ As the Acra of the Macedonians had not then been built, by the Acropolis can only be meant the Temple platform, and it agrees with this that the Xyst is described by

¹ διατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν Ξυστὸν λεγόμενον, ἔπειτα τῇ Βουλῇ συνάπτον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέριον τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἀπηρτίζετο. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

² *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

³ εἰὰν συγχωρηθῇ διὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ γυμνάσιον καὶ ἐφηβίαν αὐτῷ συστήσασθαι. — 2 *Macc.* iv. 9.

⁴ ἀσμένως γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν γυμνάσιον καθίδρυσε. — 2 *Macc.* iv. 12.

Josephus as below the Temple.¹ The gymnasium of the Greeks was usually a stadium, and this was probably the length of the Xyst, for the assemblies of the people were commonly held in the Xyst²; and in one place it is said that they were called together into the great Stadium, by which the Xyst is apparently intended.³ As the west side of the Temple was just a stadium in length, the Xyst and the Temple, which were parallel to each other, must have been nearly commensurate. The interval between the two was called the suburb.⁴

The Council-house, which the wall of the High Town passed on its way to the Temple, occupied the site of the corresponding building at the present day, viz. the Mekhemeh, or Town Hall, which stands on the south side of the raised street leading from the Jaffa gate to Bab es Sinsleh, one of the western gates of the Haram.⁵ The wall of the High Town probably crossed the valley on the north side of the Council-house, nearly in the line of the present causeway leading up to Bab es Sinsleh, but somewhat more to the south; for the causeway is not exactly in the natural line of a wall running along the northern brow of Sion, but lies more to the

¹ τοῦ Ξυστοῦ καθύπερθεν. — *Bell.* iv. 9, 12. γέφυρα τῷ Ξυστῷ τὸ ἱερὸν συνῆπτεν. — *Ib.* ii. 16, 3. τοὺς ἐχθροὺς [in the Temple] ὑπὲρ κορυφὴν βλέποντες. — *Ib.* iv. 3, 10.

² *Bell.* ii. 16, 3; iv. 3, 10.

³ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ σταδίῳ. — *Bell.* ii. 9, 3.

⁴ τὸ προάστειον. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 5. It is likely that both the Xyst and the suburb were laid out with avenues of trees; and Josephus may have referred to them when he states that Pompey, for the purpose of casting up his mounds against the Temple, cut down "the suburb" (τεμὼν τὰ προάστεια. — *Bell.* i. 17, 8). It is more natural, however, to suppose that the environs of Jerusalem generally are intended. (τὴν περίξ ὅλην. — *Ant.* xiv. 4, 1).

⁵ *Rob.* iii. 227.

north.¹ For a long time it was supposed that this causeway was an embankment of solid earthwork, and great part of Mr. Williams's hypothesis as to the site of the Temple rests upon this foundation ; but, in fact, as appears from recent discoveries, the street is supported by a series of arches, a plan of which will be found in Tobler.²

We now proceed to the *second* wall, of which the short account in Josephus is this. "But the second wall had its commencement from the gate called Gennath, which was in the first wall, and, encircling (*κυκλούμενον*) the quarter *only* which lay to the north [of the High Town], *went up* (*ἀνῆει*) to Antonia."³ The necessity for this wall arose as follows :—Jerusalem was at first the High Town on the western hill, and then spread itself to the eastern hill, where arose the Low Town. It next protruded itself to the west of the Temple at the north of the High Town, so as to cover the base and part of the slope of the saddleback, or swell of ground coming down from the north-west towards the Temple. This new settlement was bounded on the east by the Asmonean Valley running from the Damascus gate to the Temple, and on the south by the Tyropæon Valley lying at the foot of the High Town. To protect this suburb it was required to carry a wall across the saddleback from the wall of the High Town in a northerly direction, and with a sweep round to the Temple platform ; and as the ground was naturally so unfavourable for defence, the only resource was to strengthen the fortification by a deep fosse. Accordingly, from a point about half-way between the Jaffa gate and the Haram, that is, just east

¹ Rob. iii. 226.

² Tobl. Dritte Wand. 224.

³ Bell. v. 4. 2.

of the bazaars, a wall struck off northward until it passed the street now known as Tarik el Alam, or the Via Dolorosa. Half-way along this limb of the wall was the Gate of Ephraim, and at the northern end stood, as its name imports, the Corner gate, afterwards called the Porta Judiciaria.¹ Thence the wall deflected eastward down into the valley, where was the Old gate, and thence by the Fish gate at the north-east corner to the north-west quarter of the Haram. The fosse is still to be traced in this line of the wall, across the high ground on the west, from David Street to the Porta Judiciaria: that is to say, half-way along the street from the Jaffa gate to the Temple, run off to the north three parallel bazaars, which lie in an excavation of such depth that the roofs of the bazaars are on a level with the adjoining ground east and west², and at the north end of the bazaars the excavation is still continued along the covered way as far as the Porta Judiciaria, at the junction of Damascus Street and the Via Dolorosa³; and no other explanation can be given of this artificial cutting, than that it was the old fosse of the second wall to protect it on the west. The rock also to the east of the bazaars rises to the surface, and therefore presents a good line of defence; and Tobler observed thereabouts a huge mass lying on the ground, which might be either a projection of the live rock or the fragment

¹ The site of the Porta Judiciaria is now placed to the west of Damascus Street, but according to the oldest authorities it stood to the east of the street. F. Fabri, in going along Damascus Street northward, saw the gate with half an arch of thick wall on the right hand, i. e. to the west of Damascus Street. See Rob. iii. 171.

² Rob. iii. 166.

³ Rob. iii. 169. Tobl. Dritte Wand. 238.

of some wall or building.¹ From the Porta Judiciaria to the Fish gate no traces remain. But Krafft states that the Via Dolorosa lies in a hollow, which he takes to be the fosse of the second wall in this part.² The well-known arch of the Ecce Homo, the piers of which are ancient, probably represents the Fish gate; and more to the south is an old Jewish tower, noticed both by Barclay³ and Tobler⁴, which may have stood in the second wall before it turned eastward to the Temple platform.

Afterwards, in the time of Hezekiah, this line of the second wall underwent an alteration. For when an attack was impending from the Chaldees under Sennacherib, Hezekiah, in order to provide a supply of water in the event of a siege, constructed a pool, called ever since the Pool of Hezekiah, in the nook formed without the city by the north wall of the High Town and the western limb of the second wall; and, that he might place the pool out of reach of the besiegers, he "built another wall without:"⁵ that is, he carried a wall from the north wall of the High Town, near the Jaffa gate, in a northern direction along the western side of the Pool of Hezekiah, and then eastward along the north of the pool, until it joined the western limb of the second wall at the Gate of Ephraim. When the fortifications were repaired by Nehemiah, as it was necessary to keep the pool within the city, this outer wall of Hezekiah, called from its unusual dimensions the Broad wall, was rebuilt⁶; and from that time until the siege by Titus the course of the

¹ Tobl. Dritte Wand. 240.

² Krafft, 34.

³ Barclay, 452. See a view of it, *ib.* 430.

⁴ Tobl. Dritte Wand. 341.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

⁶ Neh. iii. 8.

second wall remained as altered by Hezekiah. To this supplemental wall added by Hezekiah and repaired by Nehemiah must be referred the remains which have been described in a former page¹, viz. the foundations of an ancient wall ten or twelve feet thick, of bevelled stones and unquestionably Jewish, at the north of the Pool of Hezekiah, and running east and west.

Let us see how far this suggested line of the second wall is borne out by the testimony of Josephus.

The first statement is, that the second wall started from the gate Gennath, and the question arises, Where is this gate to be located?

If our view be correct, the site of the gate Gennath would be at a point due south from the south-west corner of the Pool of Hezekiah, that is, just to the east of the three great towers, the bulwark of Herod's palace, viz. Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne. It may be the gate referred to by Josephus, but not named, by which the Jews sallied against the Romans as they were casting up mounds against the High Town in front of Herod's palace.²

It is evident that the second wall did not strike off from Hippicus itself; for when Titus reconnoitred the city to select the place of assault, he decided on attempting the outer wall at the monument of the high priest John, which lay within the third wall to the west of the Pool of Hezekiah, because there the wall of the High Town was not covered by the second wall, and therefore, if he could only capture the third wall, he could then at once assault the first wall of the High Town, without taking the second wall.³ Ac-

¹ See ante, p. 48.

² Bell. v. 9, 2.

³ ἐδόκει κατὰ τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως μνημεῖον προσβαλεῖν.

Engraved by F. Waller

London Longman & Co.

cordingly, when he became master of the third wall, he did make the assault upon the first wall of the High Town in this quarter, and Simon, who held the High Town, maintained the line of wall against him “from the tomb of John as far as the gate by which the water was conveyed into the tower Hippicus.”¹ So that between the monument of John, which, from the nature of the case, was close to the second wall, and the tower of Hippicus, which lay at the north-west corner of the High Town, was a sufficient space for the army of Titus to deliver the assault against the High Town, and for Simon to make head against it.

Again, at the commencement of the Jewish war, when Cestius, the prefect of Syria, advanced at the head of a large force, the Jews in a panic abandoned the outer parts of the city covered by the third wall, and retired into what Josephus calls the Inner Town, and the Temple. Cestius, upon this, set fire to Bezetha and Cænopolis and the timber-market, and then, in order to proceed against “the High Town,” pitched his camp opposite the king’s palace (which was at the north-west corner of the High Town).² If by the Inner Town be meant, as some suppose, the quarter inclosed by the second wall, it is clear that

ταύτῃ γὰρ τό τε πρῶτον ἦν ἔρμα χθαμαλώτερον, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνῆπτεν. . . ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἦν εὐπέτεια δι’ οὗ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν . . . αἰρήσειν ἐπενόει. — *Bell.* v. 6, 2.

¹ τὸ δὲ τοῦ Σίμωνος τάγμα τὴν παρὰ τὸ Ἰωάννου μνημεῖον ἐμβολὴν διαλαβόντες ἐφράξαντο μέχρι πύλης καθ’ ἣν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰππικὸν πύργον εἰσῆκτο. — *Bell.* v. 7, 3.

² τῶν μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως μερῶν εἶκον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐνδοτέραν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεχώρουν. . . Κέστιος δὲ προσελθὼν ὑπεμπίμπρησι τὴν τε Βεζεθὰν προσαγορευομένην καὶ τὴν Καινόπολιν καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Δοκῶν Ἀγοράν. ἔπειτα πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐλθὼν ἀντικρὺ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἐστρατοπεδέυετο. — *Bell.* ii. 19, 4.

Cestius could have assaulted the High Town in the space between the second and third walls, which would argue no little interval. I rather incline, however, to the opinion of Robinson¹ that by the Inner Town is meant the High Town, and that the conduct of the Jews on this occasion was the counterpart of that in the siege by Herod, when also the Jews retired into the Temple and the High Town²; for how else could Cestius, unless he was master of the second wall (which joined the north wall of the Temple platform), have assaulted afterwards, as he did, the north gate of the Temple proper?³ However, whether Cestius was or not master of the second wall, it would seem that his operations were conducted without the second wall; for when Titus afterwards captured the first wall, and *before he had taken the second*, he devastated, it is said, the northern parts of the city, *which Cestius had done before*.⁴

These passages establish that the gate Gennath was not close to Hippicus, the corner tower. But, on the other hand, another citation leads necessarily to the inference that Gennath was not very far from Hippicus; for when Titus was assaulting the third or outer wall, the Jews were the less solicitous about its fall, because, even if taken, there would still remain two walls⁵,—language that could not have been used had the second wall covered for instance one half only of the north

¹ Rob. iii. 215.

² εἰς τὸ ἔσωθεν ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν Ἰουδαῖοι συνέφυγον. — *Ant.* xiv. 16, 2.

³ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν πύλιν ὑποπιμπράναι παρεσκευάζοντο. — *Bell.* ii. 19, 5.

⁴ τὰ προσάρκτια τῆς πόλεως ἃ καὶ πρότερον Κέστιος. — *Bell.* v. 7, 2.

⁵ Ἐτέρων μετ' αὐτὸ λειπομένων δύο. — *Bell.* v. 7, 2.

wall of the High Town. But, in fact, at the north-west corner of the High Town was Herod's palace, protected on the north by the three strong towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne; and, as the gate Gennath was close to the easternmost of these towers, the Jews might well consider themselves secure when the northern line was defended by two walls, except where the three towers bade defiance to any assault. It is true that Titus had hoped to storm these towers, and when master of the outer wall made the attempt, but he failed, and eventually took the High Town from the *west*.¹

But if Gennath was so near to Hippicus, how, it will be asked, could first Cestius and then Titus² find room to pitch a camp in the space between the third wall on the west and the second wall on the east? Now, on looking at the plan, it will be seen that although there was little space between Gennath and Hippicus, yet, when the second wall in striking northward had passed the Pool of Hezekiah, it turned off eastward as far as Damascus Street, so that at a little distance from the north wall of the High Town was an open area wide enough for any encampment, and far enough removed to be out of reach of the enemy's missiles.³ This Champ de Mars at the north-west of the old city, bounded on the south by the wall of the High Town, on the west and north by the third wall, and on the east by the second wall, was the Fuller's field, and was successively the camp of the Assyrians and Antiochus Sidetes⁴, and of Cestius and Titus, and again of Tancred in the times of the Crusades.

¹ οἱ μὲν ὅλον ἀνατετράφθαι τὸ πρὸς δύοσιν τεῖχος ἡγγελον. — *Bell.* vi. 8, 4.

² *Bell.* v. 7, 3.

³ *Bell.* v. 7, 3.

⁴ *Ant.* xiii. 8, 2.

One expression of Josephus deserves particular comment. He says that the second wall "encircled the northern part"¹, from which we may conclude that the second wall took a sweep round to the north; and accordingly, as we have seen, the line of the second wall was not *direct* from Gennath to Antonia, but ran first north, then east, then again north, and then bent round in a curve to Antonia.

There is also another word in the passage of Josephus relating to the second wall which has not hitherto been commented upon, but must not be passed over. Josephus says that the second wall ἀνῆλθε, "*went up*," to Antonia; and if, as we have surmised, the second wall passed in the line of the Ecce Homo arch southward, a little to the west of the house of Pilate, and then turned east to Antonia, it would be described with accuracy as "going up" from the valley to Antonia.

That the second wall did not *cover Antonia* on the north is evident, for Titus hoped by taking the first wall, and, without taking the second, to assault Antonia, and thereby possess himself of the Temple.²

The second wall, if it pursued the direction assigned to it, would have two limbs, a northern and a western; and, when Titus had captured the second wall, he threw down the northern portion, but left standing that which ran southward, and posted guards upon it.³ The object of this was to assist his approaches against the High Town over against the palace of Herod.

The *northern* limb of the second wall would be nearly

¹ κυκλούμενον τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα.—*Bell.* v. 4, 2.

² *Bell.* v. 6, 2.

³ τὸ προσάρκτιον μὲν εὐθέως κατέρριψε πᾶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν φρουρὸς τοῖς πύργοις ἐγκαταστήσας τῷ τρίτῳ προσβάλλειν ἐπενόει.—*Bell.* v. 8, 2.

in a line with the northern wall of the Temple inclosure ; and this, we think, is implied by a circumstance in the siege by Herod and Sosius. Herod pitched his camp at the north of the *Temple* and cast up three mounds there¹, and when Sosius joined him it is said that the united forces “ were posted all along against the *northern wall of the city* ²,” thus treating the northern wall of the Temple as an integral part of the northern city wall.

But it will be objected if you draw the second wall thus, the tract inclosed by it becomes quite insignificant. We answer that this is required by all the notices of it in Josephus.

In the first place, the course of the second wall is dispatched by Josephus in three lines, which in itself indicates the little importance he attached to it ; and, again, he says it inclosed that quarter *only* which lay against the north of the High Town, and this disparaging adjunct “ only ” points also to the same conclusion. But the relative numbers of towers in the three walls are still more conclusive, for while the first wall had sixty and the third ninety, the second had only *fourteen towers*.³ No doubt the respective lengths of the walls cannot be collected with certainty from the number of towers, as the latter may have stood at different distances from each other in each wall according to the nature of the ground ; but still the number of towers cannot fail to furnish us with an approximation

¹ Ant. xiv. 15, 14.

² διεκάθηντο πρὸς τῷ βορείῳ τεῖχει τῆς πόλεως. — Ant. xiv. 16, 1.

³ Bell. v. 4, 2. Fergusson writes: “ The old wall had sixty, the middle wall *forty* ! and the new, or outer wall, ninety towers ” (p. 43). We are so much indebted to Fergusson for his architectural suggestions, that we can readily pardon the mistake of forty for fourteen, but any argument built upon the error falls of course to the ground.

to the truth. It would be difficult to compare the towers of the second wall with those of the third, as the course of the third wall itself is uncertain; but the line of the first wall can be fixed with some degree of precision, and as the first and second walls were the most ancient, perhaps nearly coeval, these two will supply the best analogy. The first wall, then, if it took the course we have supposed, would measure 11,700 feet, or 195 feet for each of its sixty towers, and at this rate the second wall, which had fourteen towers, would measure 2730 feet. Now the length of the wall, as we have drawn it, is 2800 feet, which is not 100 feet in excess. Thus the difficulty with the second wall is not that it inclosed too little, but how, consistently with the statement that it had only fourteen towers, it can be so drawn as to encompass a space sufficiently small. The reason why so many writers wish to extend the dimensions arises from the mistaken impression that the whole of the Low Town lay within the second wall; but, as we have seen, the quarter within the second wall, though an appendage to the Low Town, was by no means the principal part of it.

Now that we have concluded our description of the course of the second wall, we may address ourselves to the *vexata quæstio* —

Does the so-called Holy Sepulchre represent correctly the place where our Lord's body was laid?

Let us examine first the few *indicia* to be found in the New Testament as to the locality of our Lord's crucifixion, and consequently of His sepulchre, which was near to it.

1. Our Lord was tried by Pilate at the Prætorium.

2. The crucifixion was *without* the city, but close to it.
 3. There was a *garden* nigh at hand. 4. In the garden was a *sepulchre*.

1. From the high priest's house, or perhaps from the chamber of the Sanhedrim, our Lord was conducted to the Prætorium¹, the official residence of the prætor or procurator. What the Prætorium was we are expressly informed by Mark, — "the palace which is the Prætorium."² There were several palaces at Jerusalem, but "the palace" *par excellence* was that of Herod at the north-west corner of the High Town, defended on the north by the three famous towers Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne. In the court-yard in front of the palace was the tessellated pavement, or Gabbatha³, on which was placed the portable chair of state, or tribunal, on which the procurator sat to hear legal proceedings.⁴ That the palace of Herod was the ordinary residence of the procurators is manifest from the whole history of Josephus⁵, but one passage is almost an echo of the account in the gospels. When the last great rebellion broke out thirty-three years after the crucifixion, the people insulted the troops of Florus, who was then procurator; and the historian proceeds: "But Florus was then residing in *the palace*, and the next day he set his *tribunal* in front of it and sat thereon, and the chief priests and magnates, and all the most notable men of the city, approached and stood by the tribunal."⁶ Here we have Florus, like Pilate,

¹ τὸ Πραιτώριον.—John xviii. 28, 33; xix. 9. Matt. xxvii. 27.

² τῆς αὐλῆς ὃ ἐστι Πραιτώριον.—Mark xv. 16.

³ גַּבְּתָא, from גַּב or גָּב. Krafft, 166.

⁴ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Λιθόστρωτον, Ἐβραϊστὶ δὲ Γαββαθᾶ.—John xix. 13.

⁵ See Bell. ii. 3, 2; ii. 15, 5.

⁶ Φλώρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐλίζεται, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ βῆμα πρὸ αὐτῶν θέμενος καθίζεται, καὶ προσελθόντες οἷτε ἀρχιερεῖς

residing in the palace, and then coming forth to the Jews and occupying the *βῆμα*. The charge against our Lord was made at so early an hour that Pilate appears to have been roused from his slumbers; and it was while he was on the *βῆμα* that his wife, who had not yet risen and was excited by the popular tumult, had the well-known dream, and sent a message to Pilate in consequence. All this marks the locality as being Pilate's ordinary residence, the palace of Herod at the north-west corner of the High Town. The monkish tradition of the trial of our Lord at what is called Pilate's house, at the north-west corner of the Haram, is purely the result of ignorance. This spot was never occupied as a palace at all, but was the site of the Acra, the Macedonian fortress.

As our Lord was tried and condemned at the Prætorium, He would naturally be led out of the city by the nearest gate (which would be Gennath where the second wall branched off from the first near the Prætorium) to Golgotha, which lay to the north of the palace, but somewhat to the east.

2. The crucifixion was *without* the city, but near to it.¹ The gate Gennath, which stood just east of the palace on Pseudo-Sion, and just west of the second wall, led out of the city along the foot of the western limb of the second wall. After passing the Pool of Hezekiah, the wall turned eastward until it reached the present bazaars, and then deflected northward, and in this angle or corner was Golgotha; and, as our Lord and the two bandits were crucified as malefactors for a public example, their crosses were erected within sight of the

τό τε γνωριμώτατον τῆς πόλεως πᾶν παρέστησαν τῷ βήματι.—*Bell.* ii. 14, 8.

¹ Matt. xxviii. 32.

city, that is, by the side of the great public thoroughfare to the north running along the fosse at the foot of the western limb of the second wall, formerly occupied by bazaars, but now deserted. Accordingly we find the people who passed along the thoroughfare wagging their heads and reviling our Lord.¹

It is objected that Calvary as now pointed out is *within the city*, and so it is at the present day; but it was not within the city as bounded by the second wall, the limit of the city in the time of our Lord, but was inclosed for the first time by the wall of Agrippa, which was built ten years after the crucifixion, in A.D. 43. In the time of the prophets Calvary appears to have been called Goath, and was without the city, but destined in after times, according to Jeremiah, to be comprised within it: "The measuring line shall yet go forth . . . and shall compass about to Goath,"² a prediction which was eventually fulfilled by this very wall of Agrippa. Goath signifies "violent death," and Krafft ingeniously, and probably with truth, derives the word Golgotha from גִּלְגֹּתָא *cumulus*, and מִן מוֹתָא *mortuus est violentiâ*, i. e. the Mount of Execution — the place where criminals suffered the last penalty of the law.³ In the days of the Apostles this etymology, if the correct one, was lost, for Luke renders Golgotha "the place called the Skull,"⁴ from which some have thought that it was so named as being a knoll in the form of a skull. But in the other Evangelists, Golgotha is rendered the place *of a skull*⁵, or, as we should say, "Deadman's piece," a name which may have been

¹ Mark xv. 29. Matt. xxvii. 39.

² Jer. xxxi. 38.

³ Krafft, 158.

⁴ τόπος ὁ καλούμενος Κρανίον. — Luke xxiii. 33.

⁵ Matt. xxvii. 33. Mark xv. 22. John xix. 17.

given to it from the public executions there, or from the cemetery which was close by.

3. At the place of the crucifixion was a garden, and we have circumstantial evidence that gardens did then exist in this part. In the first place, the gate which led from Sion in that direction was called Gennath, or the *Garden gate*¹, so that, at one time at least, there must have been gardens in that quarter. Again, we find express mention by Josephus of gardens just *without* Agrippa's wall, for Titus's first step was to clear away the gardens²; and as the wall of Agrippa was built for the first time in A.D. 43, it is likely that gardens were to be found, though less frequently, within as well as just without the third wall. That there were trees, and therefore, as we may conclude, gardens, may also be inferred from this, that the pool there was called Amygdalon, or the Pool of Almond Trees, a name which must have arisen from the almond trees that grew there. Gardens have certainly been cultivated in this part in modern times, for until 1844 a small pool, called the Pool of Bathsheba, was kept up, just on the left as you entered the Jaffa gate, for watering the gardens in the neighbourhood; but in that year, at the request of the French consul, the pool was filled up.³ It will be said that, as the wall of Agrippa, erected in A.D. 43, struck off from Hippicus itself towards the north, all the suburb in the angle between Agrippa's wall and the second wall must, in A.D. 33, have been covered with houses. But this does not follow, for the wall of Agrippa started from Hippicus, not to protect any crowded

¹ From גִּנָּת gardens.

² καταβληθέντος δὲ παντὸς ἔρκους καὶ περιφράγματος ὅσα κήπων προανεστήσαντο καὶ δένδρων οἱ οἰκήτορες.—Bell. v. 3, 2

³ Schultz, 78.

streets in that part (which did not exist), but only on strategic grounds. Even after a lapse of twenty-three years from the erection of Agrippa's wall, viz. in A.D. 66, the population in that direction appears to have been very sparse; for Cestius, who had been admitted within Agrippa's wall, encamped at the north of the palace or Prætorium¹; and again, in A.D. 70, when Titus appeared before the city, he assaulted Agrippa's wall just on the north of Hippicus, for, if he succeeded in taking that wall, he would then find the road open to the first wall, or that of the High Town, as the second wall in that part did not cover it. And why? "Because they who built the second wall had neglected to inclose this part of the new city, as being only thinly inhabited."²

4. In the garden was the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, a member of the Sanhedrim and a rich man. Now, that persons of distinction were buried at this very spot we may collect from the fact that Titus planned an assault upon the High Town on the north, between Agrippa's wall and the second wall, at the *monument of the high priest John*³; and if a high priest was buried there, why might not Joseph of Arimathea, another magnate, have also excavated for himself a tomb in the same quarter? The existence of a cemetery here accounts at once for the population in this district being

¹ Κέστιος δὲ παρελθὼν ὑπεμπύμπρησι τήντε Βεζεθὰν προσαγορευομένην καὶ τὴν Καινόπολιν καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Δοκῶν ἀγορὰν, ἔπειτα πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐλθὼν, ἀντικρὺ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο.—*Bell.* ii. 19, 4.

² ταύτη γὰρ τό τε πρῶτον ἦν ἔρυμα χθαμαλώτερον, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνῆπτεν, ἀμελησάντων καθ' ἃ μὴ λίαν ἡ καινὴ πόλις συνώκιστο τειχίζειν.—*Bell.* v. 6, 2.

³ ἐδόκει κατὰ τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀρχιέρως μνημεῖον προσβαλεῖν· ταύτη γὰρ τό τε πρῶτον ἦν ἔρυμα χθαμαλώτερον, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνῆπτεν.—*Bell.* v. 6, 2.

so scant, for it is well known that the Jews had a religious horror of a burial-ground, and interred without the city, and could not be induced to dwell on a spot defiled by the presence of a dead body.

As regards tradition we have little faith in it generally, but in this case it reaches back to a very early period, and entirely agrees with the conclusions to which the notices in the New Testament would lead us. It would exceed the limits of a mere sketch, to trace the stream of testimony from the earliest to the latest times; but, fortunately, two authorities, the most ancient and therefore the most valuable, are clear and decisive.

The first of our two guides is the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 333, a few years after the commencement of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by Constantine the Great in A.D. 326, and two years only before the final dedication of it in A.D. 335.

After describing the platform of the Temple and the notable places about it, he proceeds:—

“Also, as you go out [of the Temple] to ascend Sion, on the left hand and down in the valley near the *wall* is the pool which is called Siloam. It has four porches, and without is *another large pool*. This fountain runs six days and nights, but on the seventh day is the sabbath, when it runs not at all, by day or night.”¹ Thus the progress of the Pilgrim on leaving the Temple is to the left down the Tyropœon until he comes to Siloam, which is located by him “near the wall,” i. e. outside the wall, but not far from it. That

¹ “Item exeunti in Hierusalem ut ascendas Sion, in parte sinistrâ et deorsum in valle juxta murum est piscina quæ dicitur Siloa. Habet quadriporticum, et alia piscina grandis foras,” &c.—*Itin. Hieros.*

he had made his exit from the city is evident from this, that he presently speaks of again entering it. The city wall was probably then as now carried across the Tyropœon, between Siloam and the Temple inclosure. The outer pool, or that beyond Siloam, in the same valley, was the pool constructed between the two walls by Hezekiah, and of which the ruins may still be traced.¹

“In the same part you go up Sion, and there is seen the site of the house of Caiaphas the priest, and there is still the column at which they beat Christ with scourges.”²

The house of Caiaphas is still shown without the wall on the south of Sion, half-way between the tomb of David and the Sion gate, and is an Armenian convent.³ The column to which Christ was bound was pointed out here for some generations after this⁴, but has long since disappeared; and a fragment is now exhibited in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

“But inside, *within the wall of Sion*, is seen the place where David had his palace, and the seven synagogues which were there, one of which only has been left, but the rest are ploughed and sown, as said the prophet Isaiah.”⁵ The palace of David is no doubt identical with the palace of Herod at the north-west corner of the High Town, and is now the Castle of

¹ See ante, p. 47.

² “In eâdem ascenditur Sion, et paret ubi fuit domus Caiaphæ Sacerdotis; et columna adhuc ibi est in quâ Christum flagellis ceciderunt.” — *Itin. Hieros.*

³ Rob. i. 229.

⁴ See *Itin. Hieros.* by Wesseling.

⁵ “Intus autem intra murum Sion, paret locus ubi palatium habuit David, et septem synagogæ quæ illic fuerunt; una tantum remansit, reliquæ autem arantur et seminantur sicut Isaias propheta dixit.” — *Itin. Hieros.*

David. The site of the last of the seven synagogues is no longer traceable.

“Thence to go *without the wall*, as you go *from Sion* to the Neapolis [or *Nablous*] gate¹, on the right hand down in the valley are the walls where was the house, or Prætorium, of *Pontius Pilate*. There the Lord was heard before He suffered. But on the left hand is the little mount Golgotha, where our Lord was crucified. Thence about a *stone's throw* is the crypt where His body was laid and on the third day rose again. On the same spot, by command of the Emperor Constantine, has been lately erected a basilica, that is, a Lord's house of wonderful beauty, having at the side reservoirs whence water is raised, and at the back a bath where *infants* are washed.”²

This passage determines beyond question the traditional sites of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre at the time of the Pilgrim's visit. As the church was building at this very time, he could not be mistaken, and his description of the localities is so exact that it cannot

¹ Nablous is the corruption of Neapolis, by which name Sychar, on the great north road through Samaria, was then called. The Pilgrim himself passed through Nablous on his way to Jerusalem. “Civitas Neapoli. Ibi est mons Agazaren. Ibi dicunt Samaritani,” &c., and it cannot be supposed that, in speaking of the Porta Neapolitana, the Pilgrim could mean anything else than the Nablous gate by which he had entered.

² “Inde ut eas foris murum, de Sione euntibus ad portam Neapolitanam, ad partem dextram deorsum in valle sunt parietes, ubi domus fuit sive Prætorium Pontii Pilati. Ibi Dominus auditus est antequam pateretur. A sinistrâ autem parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est cripta ubi corpus ejus positum fuit et tertiâ die resurrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini Imperatoris Basilica facta est, id est, Dominicum miræ pulchritudinis, habens ad latus exceptoria unde aqua levatur, et balneum a tergo ubi infantes lavantur.” — *Itin. Hieros.*

be wrested to a double meaning. The words "without the wall" have been a stumbling-block to some, as if the writer had made his exit from the wall of *the city*, whereas he evidently refers only to the wall of Sion. The words are: "to go without the wall [i. e. the wall of Sion mentioned just before], as you go [not from the city but] from *Sion*." It is impossible that he could have quitted the city, for he immediately points out the house of Pilate on the right, and Golgotha on the left, which were both, in the days of the Pilgrim, unquestionably within the walls. Besides, he advances to the Nablous, or Damascus, gate; and, had he entered the gate from without, he would have had the valley on his left, whereas he expressly tells us that the valley was on his right. The allusion to a wall within the city need not create surprise, for when Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus he left standing the three great towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, in the north wall of the High Town; and if the towers were spared the wall connecting them would remain also. It is not improbable that Sion may in his time, as in the days of Josephus, have been inclosed by a wall on all sides. However, it is sufficient for our purpose that the Pilgrim had just before alluded to David's palace, i. e. Herod's palace, which was protected by the towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne on the north, so that, in going from Sion to the Nablous gate, he would naturally pass the old wall of the Upper Town, which had been left standing by Titus. At the present time Jerusalem is traversed from south to north by a great thoroughfare, which runs from Sion gate on the south to David Street, and then, after a fault or break, is continued on to the Damascus gate. The Pilgrim evidently intends

his reader to accompany him along the same route; and if so, in descending from Sion to Damascus Street, he would pass the wall of Sion at the spot where now stands the Porta Ferrea¹ (which may be, not Gennath, but the gate of communication between Sion and the northern quarter), and he would then proceed, to use his own words, "from Sion to the Nablous gate," and pass along Damascus Street. On the right, he says, down in the valley, was the house of Pilate; and so it is at the present day, for on the right is the valley which descends from the Damascus gate to the Haram, and on the eastern brink of the valley is the traditional house of Pilate, at the north-east corner of the Haram. On the left, says the Pilgrim, was Golgotha; and so it is, for at the distance of about 300 feet from the main street on the left is the spot now so called. At a stone's throw, says the Pilgrim, from Golgotha, was the Holy Sepulchre; and so it is, for at forty yards from Golgotha, and on the other side of it, is the Holy Sepulchre.² On the same spot, says the Pilgrim, was the newly erected Basilica of Constantine³; and there now is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. At the side of the Basilica, says the Pilgrim, are reservoirs whence water is raised; and accordingly on the one side of the church, on the north, is the greatest cistern in Jerusalem, called the Treasury of Helena; so named from the mother of Constantine, who herself had been a pilgrim to these holy places, and was mainly instrumental in promoting the erection of the church. On the other side, the south, is what is called the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, but which is

¹ Rob. iii. 200. Tobl. Top. i. 414.

² Barclay, 237.

³ "That is, the Dominicum" (κυριακὸν, kirk, or church).

neither more nor less than an ancient cistern.¹ At the back of the Basilica, says the Pilgrim, was the bath where infants are washed; and at the rear of what must have been the site of the Basilica is now the part called the Baptistery.²

We proceed to call our other witness, Eusebius, who also lived at the time when the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was built, and personally took part, as Bishop of Cæsarea, in the dedication of it. His testimony, therefore, is unimpeachable as to the site of the Sepulchre at that time, and, as might be expected, entirely agrees with that of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who saw the structure rising. There are two passages in Eusebius relating to the Holy Sepulchre which at first sight might appear contradictory, but require only a little explanation. In one place he states that Constantine erected his Basilica “in the midst of the royal hearth [home or seat] of the Hebrews,”³ that is, in the midst of the royal city of Jerusalem⁴; in another place we read that “about the Saviour’s Martyrium [the Holy Sepulchre] was erected the New Jerusalem, facing the one so famous of old, which having, after the bloody tragedy of our Lord’s murder, been hurled down to the lowest depth of desolation, paid the penalty of its impious inhabitants. It was then, *over against this*, that the emperor exalted with rich and costly honours the scene of the Saviour’s victory over death, being perhaps that New and young Jerusalem foreshadowed by the prophetic oracles,” &c.⁵ Thus the

¹ Murray’s Handbook to Syria.

² The Treasury of Helena was near the Baptisterium. Quaresmius.

³ Τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλαιστινῶν ἔθνους, τῆς Ἑβραίων βασιλικῆς ἐστίας ἐν μέσῳ. — *Euseb. Laus Const.* ix.

⁴ See Valerii Epistol. de Anastasi, &c.

⁵ καὶ δὴ κατ’ αὐτὸ τὸ Σωτήριον Μαρτύριον ἡ νέα κατεσκευάζετο Ἱερου-

Church of the Holy Sepulchre is described as, at the same time, within and without the city; and so it was in fact: that is, within the city inclosed by the wall of Agrippa and restored by Adrian, but without the city as it existed at the time of the crucifixion, in A.D. 33. It may seem strange to some that the Sepulchre, which is now in the heart of Jerusalem, should ever have stood without the walls¹; but this growth of the city is but the accomplishment of Constantine's design. The centre of attraction of old Jerusalem had been the Temple on the eastern hill; in lieu of it Constantine now erected on the western hill the new Temple, which was to collect about it all the Christian population. In the assertion that the Basilica faced the old city which had crucified the Lord, Eusebius had in his mind the contrast between the two Temples, viz. that while the Temple of Solomon stood on the eastern hill, the Temple of Constantine was erected on the western hill. That the Basilica was at all events built on the western, and not on the eastern, hill is placed beyond controversy by the statement of Eusebius in his other work, the "Onomasticon," that its position was to the north of Sion²; for at that day Sion was unquestionably the western hill, as we have seen in the journey of the

σαλήμ, ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ πάλαι βοωμένῃ, ἢ μετὰ τὴν Κυριοκτόνον μαιφονίαν ἐρημίας ἐπ' ἔσχατα περιτραπεῖσα, δίκην ἔτισε δυσσεβῶν οἰκητόρων. Ταύτῃ γοῦν ἀντικρὺς τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου Σωτήριον νίκην πλουσίαις καὶ δαψιλέσιν ἀνύψου φιλοτιμίαις, τάχα που ταύτην οὔσαν τὴν διὰ προφητικῶν θεσπισμάτων κεκηρυγμένην καινὴν καὶ νέαν Ἱερουσαλήμ, etc. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 33.

¹ Can it be said that executions did not take place at Tyburn Gate, or that malefactors were not buried there, because the spot is now far within the present London?

² δέικνυται ἐν Αἰλία πρὸς τοῖς βορείοις τοῦ Σιών ὄρους. — *Onomast. art.* Γολγοθά.

Engraved by F. W. Hill.

London, Lowman & Co.

Bordeaux Pilgrim, the contemporary of Eusebius. Had the Basilica stood on the eastern hill, it would have been described as lying at the north, not of Sion but of Ophel.

The church of Constantine over the Holy Sepulchre has long since been destroyed, but the present edifice answers remarkably in its ground-plan and general features to the description of the original fabric.¹

To begin with the Holy Sepulchre itself. Eusebius states that the mouth of the Sepulchre "looked towards the rising sun," and that the several buildings attached to it followed successively from the crypt in an eastward direction²; and so it is still. The mouth of the Sepulchre is to the east, and advancing from the Sepulchre eastward we have the several holy places following one another seriatim in that direction, and terminating with the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, near Damascus Street.

Again, Constantine first isolated the Holy Sepulchre by cutting away the rock about it³, and then embellishing the Sepulchre itself by erecting over it an oratory supported by columns, and loaded with gorgeous orna-

¹ See view of the present church from the south, in Barclay, 220; Vogüé, frontispiece. See plan of it, Barclay, 231; Tobl. Top. i. 268.

² τῷ γὰρ καταντικρὺ πλευρῷ τοῦ ἄντρον, ὃ δὴ πρὸς ἀνισχόντα ἥλιον ἔώρα, ὁ βασιλεῖος συνῆπτο νεῶς, ἔργον ἐξαίσιον, εἰς ὕψος ἀπειρον ἡρμένον μήκους τε καὶ πλάτους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εὐρυνόμενον.—*Vit. Const.* iii. 36.

³ "The entrance, which was at the door of the Saviour's sepulchre, was hewn out of the rock itself, as is customary here in the front of the sepulchres. For now it appears not, the outer cave having been hewn away for the sake of the present adornment; for, before the Sepulchre was decorated by royal zeal, there was a cave in the face of the rock." — *Cyril, Lect.* xiv. 9.

ment.¹ This oratory is now represented by the *ædícula*, or little chapel, containing the Holy Sepulchre itself.²

"He then passed on," says Eusebius, "to quite a large space, an area clear and open to the sky, which was decorated with a pavement of polished stone, and inclosed on three sides with long cloisters running round."³ The colonnade was not continued on the east side, because "on the side facing the entrance to the crypt, which looked towards the east, the Basilica adjoined."⁴ This feature also is preserved in the present building, for the colonnade of the Rotunda, 33 yards in diameter, runs round all the sides of the Sepulchre except the east, where is the vestibule of the church. The only difference is that the Rotunda, in the time of Constantine, was open to the heavens⁵, but is now roofed in, and sustains a lofty dome. It may here be remarked that in this quarter of the city the hill slopes from west to east, and consequently in the formation of this level area the rock would necessarily be scarped on the west; and, accordingly, Dositheus mentions that on the west side of the Sepulchre was the wall only of the inclosure, because

¹ καὶ δὴ τοῦ παντὸς ὥσπερ τινα κεφαλὴν πρῶτον ἀπάντων τὸ ἱερόν ἄντρον ἐκόσμει, μνῆμα ἐκεῖνο θεσπέσιον. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 33. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν πρῶτον, ὥσανεὶ τοῦ παντὸς κεφαλὴν, ἐξαιρέτοις κίοσι κόσμῳ τε πλείστῳ κατεποίκιλλεν ἡ βασιλέως φιλοτιμία, παντοίοις καλλωπίσμασι καταφαιδρύνουσα. — *Ib.* iii. 34.

² See sketch in Bartlett's *Jerus.* 175, and Barclay, 234.

³ διέβαινε δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ παρμεγέθη χώρον, εἰς καθαρὸν αἶθριον ἀναπεπταμένον • ὃν δὴ λίθος λαμπρὸς κατεστρωμένος ἐπ' ἐδάφους ἐκόσμει, μάκροις περιδρόμοις στοῶν ἐκ τριπλεύρου περιεχόμενον. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 35. The περιδρόμοις and περιεχόμενον indicate the circular form of the court.

⁴ See passage cited *supra*, p. 140.

⁵ αἶθριον ἀναπεπταμένον. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 35.

because

of the hill¹; and at the present day, on the west, the rock reaches up to the gallery of the Rotunda. Indeed, the entrance on this side was originally from Patriarch Street, leading at once into the gallery²; but the door has been long closed, though still to be seen.³

The Basilica is described by Eusebius as comprising a grand nave, and on each side a double aisle with massive columns towards the nave, and square pilasters down the aisles behind for supporting the galleries.⁴ But what is most remarkable is that the aisles below were underground, and the gallery only above ground. This phenomenon, unaccountable without reference to the spot itself, is a strong confirmation of the identity of the present church with that of Constantine, for not only at the west end of the Rotunda, but also along the south side and in parts of the north, the area of the church has been excavated. "To the present day the rock rises 15 feet on the southern side of the site, and is exhibited on all sides, proving that the floor of the church must have been artificially sunk so much below the general surface."⁵

"But three gates, well disposed towards the same rising sun, received the multitudes of those proceeding within."⁶ These gates have been usually placed at the east end of the Basilica, but they were more probably at the western end. Gates may be described

¹ ἔχει ὁ ναὸς τῶν ἁγίων κατὰ μὲν τὴν δύσιν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ὄρος, μόνον τοῖχον αὐτοῦ. — *Dositheus*, ii. i. 7.

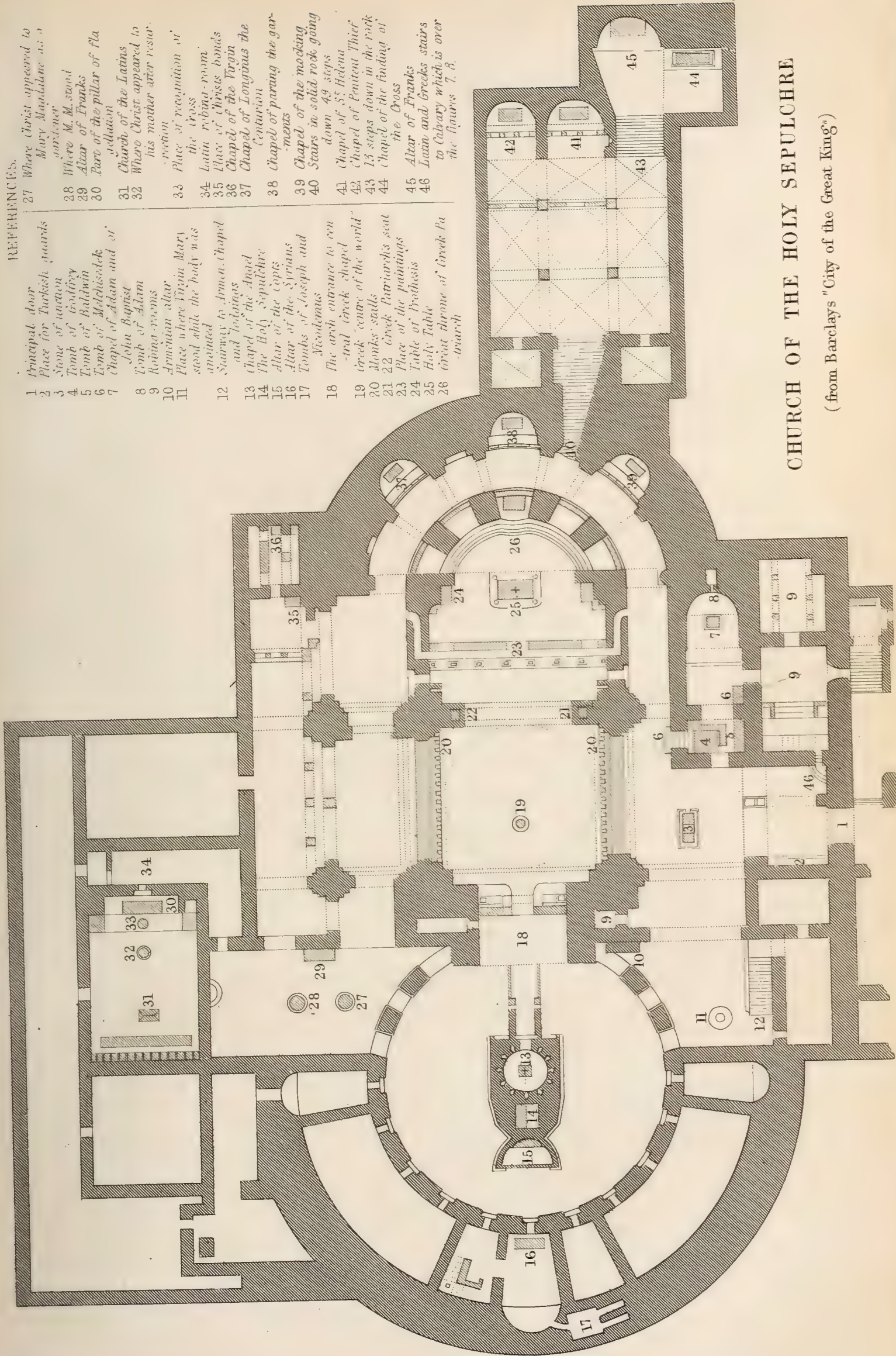
² Holy City, ii. 204.

³ See view of it in Vogüé, p. 209, and Bartlett's *Jerus. Revisit.* 91.

⁴ ἀμφὶ δ' ἑκάτερα τὰ πλευρὰ διπτῶν στοῶν, ἀναγείωντε καὶ καταγείων δίδυμοι παραστάδες. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 37.

⁵ Holy City, ii. 248.

⁶ πύλαι δὲ τρεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνισχόντα ἥλιον εὐ διακείμεναι τὰ πλήθη τῶν εἰσω φερομένων ὑπεδέχοντο. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 37.



REFERENCES.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 Principal door | 27 Where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene as a gardener |
| 2 Place for Turkish guards | 28 Where M. M. stood |
| 3 Stone of anation | 29 Altar of Franks |
| 4 Tomb of Isidore | 30 Part of the pillar of flagellation |
| 5 Tomb of Baldwin | 31 Church of the Latins |
| 6 Tomb of Melchisedek | 32 Where Christ appeared to his mother after resurrection |
| 7 Chapel of Adam and of John Baptist | 33 Place of recognition of the cross |
| 8 Tomb of Adam | 34 Latin refectory-room |
| 9 Refectory-rooms | 35 Place of Christ's bonds |
| 10 Armenian altar | 36 Chapel of the Virgin |
| 11 Place where Virgin Mary stood while the body was anointed | 37 Chapel of Longinus the Centurion |
| 12 Stairway to Armenian Chapel and lodgings | 38 Chapel of paring the garments |
| 13 Chapel of the Anad | 39 Chapel of the mocking |
| 14 The Holy Sepulchre | 40 Stairs in solid rock going down 49 steps |
| 15 Altar of the Copts | 41 Chapel of St Helena |
| 16 Tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus | 42 Chapel of Penitent Thief |
| 17 The arch entrance to cen-tral Greek chapel | 43 13 steps down in the rock |
| 18 Greek centre of the world | 44 Chapel of the finding of the cross |
| 19 Monks' stalls | 45 Altar of Franks |
| 20 Greek Patriarch's seat | 46 Latin and Greek stairs to Calvary which is over the figures 7, 8. |
| 21 Place of the paintings | |
| 22 Table of Prothesis | |
| 23 Holy Table | |
| 24 Great throne of Greek Pa-triarch | |

CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

(from Barclay's "City of the Great King")

as directed towards either the quarter of the heavens which they face or that to which they lead. The expression “well disposed towards the rising sun” seems to rather indicate that they led inwards towards the east, and this is confirmed by some further considerations. The words are, not *πρὸς ἀνισχόντα ἥλιον*, but *πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνισχόντα ἥλιον*, “towards *this same* rising sun.” Eusebius had said before that on the east side of the Rotunda was the Basilica, and he now repeats that the gates of the Basilica were towards the same east that he had before referred to, i. e. the east as regards the Rotunda, and not as regards the Basilica. Eusebius, also, is apparently taking each object successively in his progress from west to east. As the gates come first in the description, and then the apse is spoken of as opposite the gates, we should place the gates on the west and the apse on the east. Again, after explaining the apse, which he places opposite to the gates, he proceeds: “But advancing thence [i. e. from the apse] to the approaches [on the east]” &c.¹; so that the apse was apparently situate at the end of the Basilica next the approaches, i. e. at the east of the Basilica. Besides, the apse and the altar were invariably in that age situate at the eastern end, as in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, built about the same time by the same emperor, Constantine.² The apse or semi-dome at the eastern end of the Basilica reached to the same height as the nave, and was supported by twelve columns with silver capitals after the number of the twelve apostles, and was regarded, from containing the altar, as the crown of the whole.

What, then, is the present state of things? The

¹ *ἐνθεν δὲ προιόντων*, etc. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 39.

² Vogüé, 157, 54.

church has a grand nave and a double aisle on each side, and at the eastern end is the apse. Modifications in detail have no doubt been introduced from time to time, but notwithstanding the changes of plan introduced in successive centuries, and though the building itself has been repeatedly destroyed, the type of the church remains as originally described.

“But advancing thence to the approaches which lay before the Temple, the open sky succeeded. But they [the approaches] were here on each side¹, and then the entrance-court, and after that cloisters, and after all the gates leading to the court; after which, in the very midst of the wide market-place [or in the very midst of the street of the market], the propylæa of the whole, splendidly decorated, afforded to the passers-by a glimpse of the wonders within.”²

These “approaches lying *before* the Basilica” must mean something more than the mere doorways, and accordingly, at the eastern end of the present dome, the ground sinks rapidly, so that the building could not have extended further in that direction, and the

¹ The common reading is ἦσαν δὲ ἐνταυθοῖ, &c., but the heading of the chapter is ἐκφρασις μεσανλείου καὶ ἐξεδρῶν καὶ προπύλου, whence some have suggested that ἐξεδραὶ should be read for ἐνταυθοῖ, as otherwise the chapter contains nothing to correspond with the prefatory announcement. However, it is not improbable that for ἐνταυθοῖ should be read εἰσοδοί, and then the passage would run: “But the *approaches* were on each side, and then the entrance-court, and after that cloisters,” &c. In Vogüé, p. 174, these two stairs, one on each side of the apse, will be seen depicted.

² ἔνθεν δὲ προϊόντων ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ νεῶ κειμένας εἰσόδους αἶθριον διελάμβανεν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐνταυθοῖ [lege εἰσοδοί] παρ’ ἑκάτερα καὶ αὐλὴ πρώτη, στοαὶ τ’ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αἱ αὐλαιοὶ πύλαι· μεθ’ ἃς ἐπ’ αὐτῆς μέσης πλατείας ἀγορᾶς, τὰ τοῦ παντὸς προπύλαια φιλοκάλως ἡσκημένα, τοῖς τὴν ἐκτὸς πορείαν ποιουμένοις καταπληκτικὴν παρεῖχον τὴν τῶν ἔνδον ὀρωμένων θέαν. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 40.

church is now reached on one side of the apse by a flight of forty steps.¹ The approaches in front of the Basilica were therefore the two flights of steps, one in the place of the present stairs on the south side of the dome, and the other in a corresponding position on the north side of the dome, and both leading down to the entrance-court. This entrance-court may be identified in part with the court now roofed in and used as a chapel, called the Chapel of Helena. But the original court extended much farther to the north, as far as the Cistern of Helena. The Bordeaux Pilgrim mentions that the Basilica had cisterns at the side; and, if we allow more space to the court northward, the Cistern of Helena would lie on the north, and what is now known as the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, but was anciently a cistern, would lie on the south.

The Rotunda², called in Constantine's time the Anastasis or Resurrection, and the Basilica called the Martyrium, are the only portions of the original buildings which are now represented. The cloisters running from the court to the propylæa over the market-place, and the propylæa themselves, have all disappeared.

It must not be lost sight of that the propylæa on the east fronted the market-place. If we pass from the Holy Sepulchre through the church, and thence in an eastern direction for just such a distance as we should allow for the court, and then the cloisters and propylæa, we arrive at Damascus Street.³ We know that here was

¹ See Barclay, 220; and plan, ib.

² τούτων δ' ἀντικρὺ τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ παντὸς ἡμισφαιρίου ἦν, ἐπ' ἀκροῦ τοῦ Βασιλείου ἐκτεταμένον, etc. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 39.

³ It would seem that even so early as the capture of the city by Titus, the markets were not improbably located along this thoroughfare: καθὸ καὶ τῆς Καινῆς πόλεως ἐριοπώλιά τε ἦν καὶ χαλκεῖα καὶ ἱματίων ἀγορά, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τεῖχος πλάγιοι κατέτεινον οἱ στενωποί.—*Bell.* v. 8, 1.

the market in A.D. 870¹, and along this street are still the remains of the bazaars, though now deserted. Four columns, the relics of the propylæa, are still to be seen in Damascus Street, three under the high bank on the west side, and the fourth in the bazaars.² Vogüé has also recently discovered the corner pilaster on the south of the propylæa, as also the main pilaster at the north-west corner of the court, and, by connecting these and the columns together, he has shown incontestably the configuration of the court of the propylæa.³

The present Church of the Holy Sepulchre agrees thus in so many particulars with the Basilica of Constantine, that the coincidence can only be accounted for by the identity of the two. Strange as it may seem, an attempt has recently been made to prove that the Holy Sepulchre is the chamber under the Sukrah, and that the Mosque of Omar is the church over the Holy Sepulchre, and that the Golden gate is the vestibule leading to the Basilica. We have no hesitation in pronouncing the hypothesis to be wholly untenable. It would exceed our limits to discuss the question at length, but the following objections are, in the author's judgement, decisive :—

1. The Pilgrim of Bordeaux states, as we have seen, that in going from Sion (the western hill) to the Nablous or Damascus gate, he had the Church of the Sepulchre on his *left* hand; whereas the Mosque of Omar would be on his right.⁴

2. The same Palmer describes first the Temple inclosure from the Pool of Bethesda on the north to the

¹ "Ante ipsum Hospitale [of St. John] est forum." — *Bernard*.
10. See Rob. iii. 166.

² Rob. iii. 168. Tobl. Drit. Wand. 343.

³ See a plan of them in Vogüé, p. 126.

⁴ See ante, p. 135.

substructions on the south, and makes no mention of the Basilica. He next makes his exit from the Temple platform into the city, and then notices the Basilica. And it is clear from this that the Basilica was in the city, and not on the Temple platform. The only building mentioned on the platform is a certain *ædes* or temple, on the floor of which was still seen the blood of Zechariah, who was slain by the altar. The edifice, therefore, stood on the site of the Temple of Solomon, which identifies it with the Temple of Jupiter, which, on the restoration of the city by Adrian, was erected on that spot. Of course the *ædes* could not be the Basilica of Constantine, for no one ever dreamed that our Lord was buried where the blood of Zechariah was shed, that is, in the Temple of Solomon itself, which, at the time of the crucifixion, was still standing.

3. Eusebius, in his "Onomasticon," speaks of the Holy Sepulchre as lying *north of* Sion, that is, of the western hill, which, in the time of Eusebius, was so called¹; whereas the Mosque of Omar stands at the north, not of the western hill, but of Ophel, the eastern.

4. The same writer describes the Sepulchre as erected without the city of those who crucified the Lord²; whereas the site of the Mosque of Omar was not only within the city, but within the Temple platform, the main part of the city. This platform must, from the nature of the case, have been bounded from the earliest times by the Pool of Bethesda on the north, and by a great wall, of which the foundations still remain, on the east; and, if so, the site of the Mosque of Omar could never have been without the walls.

5. The chamber under the Sukrah has not the least

¹ See ante, p. 139.

² See ante, p. 138.

resemblance to any sepulchre in or about Jerusalem, for it contains no *loculus* or receptacle for a body¹, but, on the contrary, exhibits a round orifice in the roof, and another corresponding one in the floor, and was therefore in all probability the chamber belonging to a draw-well for raising water from the cisterns in the Temple platform.

6. Admitting the cave under the Sukrah to be a sepulchre, it was not that over which Constantine erected his church, for Eusebius describes the Sepulchre as “looking towards the rising sun;”² whereas the chamber under the Sukrah is many feet under the surface, and therefore looks no way, but is approached by a flight of twenty steps at the south-east corner.

7. Neither could it be the Sepulchre of the New Testament; for how could John, by stooping down, see the linen clothes lying³, and how could Mary have stooped into the Sepulchre and have seen “two angels in white, sitting, the one at the head and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain?”⁴

8. According to Eusebius, the church over the Sepulchre had adjoining it on the east the Basilica⁵: but, if we look at the Golden gate, the position of any basilica in connection with it must have been considerably to the north of the mosque; and, accordingly, the Basilica is drawn by Mr. Fergusson himself, not in a line with the mosque, or near to it, but some hundred feet to the north of it.

9. Again, the Basilica, according to Eusebius, lay to the east of the Sepulchre, and faced the entrance to it; whereas the approach to the chamber under the Sukrah

¹ Holy City, ii. 196, note.

² See ante, p. 140.

³ John xx. 5.

⁴ John xx. 11.

⁵ See ante, p. 141.

is not on the east, but at the south-east corner, and the Basilica is not to the east of the mosque, but to the north-east of it.

10. The Basilica was built in an excavation, so that the lower floor of the aisles was under ground¹; but the Mosque of Omar is built on an eminence.

11. The vestibule of the Basilica terminated eastward at a market-place², but the Golden gate terminates eastward at a cemetery. The existence of a market at the east of the Haram is, in the words of Mr. Willis, "ludicrously impossible."

12. According to Dositheus, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre could not be extended further west, because of the hill there.³ But the Mosque of Omar has on the west not a hill, but the valley which comes down thither from the Damascus gate.

13. If the Mosque of Omar be the church erected by Constantine over the Sepulchre, when did it lose that character? and when did the present church on the opposite hill acquire the honour? Through all the historical records from that time to this, and they are voluminous enough, there is not a tittle of evidence, and not even a hint, that such a transference was ever made. Besides, how was it possible? Streams of pilgrims, from the days of Constantine downwards, visited yearly the holy shrine of our Lord's burial and resurrection, and how could they have made a mistake? Was it ever read or heard of, that any single pilgrim, in any age, visited the Sukrah as the site of our Lord's sepulchre?

The argument chiefly insisted upon by Mr. Fergusson, the only writer who has ventured to maintain this

¹ See ante, p. 143.

² See ante, p. 144.

³ See ante, p. 141.

opinion, is that from architectural *indicia* the Mosque of Omar must have been a Christian edifice, erected in the first half of the fourth century. We do not admit the fact¹; but supposing it to be so, does it follow that the mosque was built by Constantine? The emperor died in A.D. 337, and the mosque may have been built by Constantine's successor, still in the first half of the fourth century. When the Roman world became Christian, new churches for many years were continually springing up, and the so-called Mosque of Omar may have been one of the number. At what precise period it was erected may never be proved, but it is clear to demonstration that the author of it was not Constantine. The basilicas which were his work in Palestine were only four: the basilica over the Sepulchre, which, as we have seen, is clearly identical with the present church on the western hill; the basilica on Mount Olivet, in honour of the Ascension; another at Bethlehem, over our Lord's birthplace; and another at the vale of Mamre, the dwelling-place of Abraham.² And all these were matter of notoriety, for even the Bordeaux Pilgrim, in the short notes of his Itinerary, makes mention of all these. Certainly the Pilgrim was at Jerusalem in A.D. 333, and Constantine died four years later; but, had any other basilica been built by Constantine in the interim, we may be sure that Eusebius, the fulsome panegyrist of the emperor, and who survived him many years, would have enumerated this as well as the others. Some stress is laid on the octagonal form of the Mosque of Omar, as indicating rather a sepulchral monument than a church;

¹ See reasons to the contrary in Bartlett's *Jerus. Rev.* 163.

² *Vit. Const.* iii. 43. *Paneg. Const.* ix.

but the argument is of no value, for not only the mausolea and baptisteries of that age, but even the basilicas also, were not unfrequently of this form. Thus the basilica erected by Constantine at Antioch in Syria was octagonal.¹

It is further maintained by Mr. Fergusson that the Golden gate also was erected by Constantine, and, for aught I know to the contrary, this may be so; but it never formed the vestibule of a basilica built by Constantine on the Temple platform. The Golden gate was no vestibule at all, but the principal eastern gate of the city. It stood by itself, independent of any other building; at least it bears no traces of a former junction to any other edifice.² If it was the vestibule of a basilica, how is it that the vestibule remains so perfect, while of the basilica no vestige now exists, or can be shown to have ever existed? As the Golden gate lies as nearly as possible in a direct line between the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Ascension on Mount Olivet, it may have been the portal through which the processions passed from one great church to the other. It is not a little remarkable that if we draw a line across the Temple platform in the direction of the north wall of the Temple, which was a square 600 feet each way, at the south-west corner of the Haram, the Golden gate stands just half-way between that line and the northern boundary of the Temple platform. This circumstance leads to

¹ τὸν ἐνκτήριον οἶκον . . . ἐν ὀκταέδρῳ μὲν συνεστῶτα σχήματι.
— *Vit. Const.* iii. 50.

² See a view of it, from the north-west, in Bartlett's *Jerus. Rev.* 153; from the south-west, in Fergusson's *Notes on the Holy Sepulchre*; and from the east, in Traill's *Josephus*, ii. 198, and Bartlett's *Jerus.* 158; and of the interior, in Bartlett's *Jerus.* 159.

the conclusion that when the gate was built the church, now the Mosque of Omar, was not standing; and the difference in the style of architecture of the two structures leads to the same inference. Our conjecture would be, that when the so-called Mosque of Omar was built (whether by Christians or infidels), the whole platform assumed a consecrated character, and that in consequence the Golden gate was then closed as an ordinary thoroughfare from the city, and the gate of St. Stephen at the north of the platform was opened instead. That either the Golden gate, or one on its exact site, was standing when the Bordeaux Pilgrim was at Jerusalem may be deduced from this, that after surveying the Temple platform and the objects of interest about it, and then making his exit westward, he, apparently after traversing the city, returns again to the platform, and proceeds thus:—"Also as you go from Jerusalem at *the gate which faces the east*, to ascend Mount Olivet, is the valley which is called Jehoshaphat. On the *left* hand are vineyards, and also the stone where Judas Iscariot betrayed Christ. But on the *right* hand is the palm-tree from which the children took branches and strewed them before Christ. Not far from thence, about a stone's throw, are two monuments of wonderful beauty. In one, a true monolith, is buried the prophet Isaiah; and, in the other, Hezekiah king of the Jews."¹

¹ "Item ab Hierusalem euntibus ad portam quæ est contra orientem, ut ascendatur in montem Oliveti, vallis quæ dicitur Josaphath. Ad partem sinistram, ubi sunt vineæ est et petra ubi Juda Scarioth Christum tradidit. A parte vero dextrâ est arbor palmæ, de quâ infantes ramos tulerunt et venienti Christo substraverunt. Inde non longe, quasi lapidis missum, sunt monumenta duo monubiles miræ pulchritudinis facta. In unum positus est Isaias Propheta, qui est vere monolitus, et in alium Ezekias rex Judæorum."—*Itin. Hieros.*

Observe here that he speaks of the eastern gate as if there were one only, and that, on his exit from the gate, the stone where Judas betrayed our Lord, that is, the garden of Gethsemane, was on the left hand, and the monuments then called the tombs of Isaias and Hezekiah, but now of Absalom and Zedekiah, were on the right. This would be exactly the case if he went out of the Golden gate, for then Gethsemane would be on his left hand and the monuments on his right; but, had the eastern gate of the city been St. Stephen's gate, the garden of Gethsemane would have been not on his left, but the garden and the monuments would both have been on the right.

We shall assume, then, that the present Holy Sepulchre is identical with that over which Constantine erected his church. But here the question arises, Was the sepulchre so honoured by the emperor the veritable one in which the body of our Lord was deposited? This, it may be said, may have been the honest belief of Constantine and the ecclesiastics of the day; but had they the means of ascertaining the fact with any reasonable degree of certainty?

All the notices in the New Testament respecting the crucifixion point, as we have shown before, to this part of the city. It was without the walls; it was near the palace of Pilate, by whom our Lord was condemned; and it was beside the great thoroughfare along the foot of the second wall, from the north to Pseudo-Sion, so that passers-by could witness the last agonies, and make their profane comments.

Not only so, but how could tradition have gone wrong in the time of Constantine, just three hundred years after the crucifixion? I readily adopt the remark of an acute writer, that during the first three centuries

after Christ a legend was not so easily invented as a few centuries later, and that men who tried the experiment would have only been laughed at for their pains.¹ Jerusalem was the birthplace of Christianity, which spread itself in successive circles round it to Judæa, and thence to Syria, and thence to the ends of the world. How could it be that Christian communities in and about Jerusalem could ever lose sight of the hallowed spot where was enacted the great event on which all their hopes rested,—the very keystone, in fact, of their religion? The place of the martyrdom of Stephen, or of the conversion of St. Paul, might well be shifted, as they have been, from one spot to another; but the tomb of Christ—the Martyrium, as it was called, of His resurrection—was too deeply imprinted in the memory to offer an opening to the practice of fraud.

There were also particular circumstances connected with the tomb which would serve to stereotype it in men's minds, and at the same time preserve it from spoliation. Eusebius states that "Impious men (or rather the whole race of demons by their instrumentality) applied themselves to deliver over that divine monument of immortality to darkness and oblivion. . . . These godless and impious men, I say, were minded to cause the Saviour's tomb to vanish from the sight of men, thinking thus, in their foolish reasoning, to hide away the truth. With this view, having with great labour brought soil thither from the parts round about, they cover up the whole place, and having raised it to a great height and laid a stone pavement, they conceal the Holy Sepulchre beneath under the mass of earth.

¹ Fergusson, 82.

Then, as if nothing more remained, they erect upon the surface what was in truth a sepulchre of *souls*, by building a dark haunt of dumb idols to Venus the goddess of Lust.”¹ When this temple was erected is not said, but the common opinion is that it was at the restoration of the city by Hadrian; and, if so, the site of the Holy Sepulchre must surely have been known at that time, and the very temple itself would thenceforth be a standing witness of the treasure concealed under it. In the days of Constantine not the least doubt was entertained where the Sepulchre was situate, but the only hesitation was, whether, by removing the temple, the Sepulchre itself could be recovered. The attempt was made, the temple was taken away, and the substrata removed, until the natural surface of the rock was reached, when, to their great joy, and beyond their most ardent hopes², the very Sepulchre came to light. The emperor and his coadjutors might certainly be mistaken; but as the Sepulchre was known to be under the Temple of Venus, the area to be explored was very small, and it is not likely that more than one tomb would answer the description, more particularly as the Sepulchre, from the notices of it in Scripture, had some remarkable and characteristic features.

It is highly probable, from the repeated destruction of the churches over it that no part of the Sepulchre itself now remains; but the devastation in every case was merely temporary, and the original form of the Sepulchre would naturally be preserved throughout, and if we look to the general character of a Jewish tomb at that period, or to the notices respecting it contained in

¹ Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 26.

² Ib. 30.

the New Testament, we shall find the present Sepulchre in every way to correspond.

From the multiplicity of ancient tombs still existing in and about Jerusalem, we are enabled to sketch their ordinary features with great accuracy. "A doorway in the perpendicular face of the rock," says Robinson, "usually small and without ornament, leads to one or more chambers excavated from the rock, and commonly upon the *same level with the door*. In order to obtain a perpendicular face for the doorway, advantage was sometimes taken of a former quarry, or an *angle* was cut in the rock with a tomb in each face, or a *square* niche or area was hewn out of the rock, and then tombs excavated in all three sides."¹ "The Jewish sepulchre," says Barclay, "was a small room excavated in the solid rock, and provided with several receptacles for the dead. They were occasionally provided with an ante-room, and were *susceptible of unlimited enlargement* by adding room to room in the rear, or at the sides, or below. . . . The position of the door in reference to the room was *very irregular*, the workmen having evidently paid more regard to the grain and flaws of the rock than to the symmetry of the room."² The door, usually square, was too low to admit a person standing³, and was about three feet, more or less, each way.⁴ After passing the door was a small sepulchral chamber (sometimes, but not commonly, preceded by an ante-room), and this chamber was not itself the receptacle for the dead, but gave access to the loculi or niches in which they were deposited. There were two very different modes of arranging these loculi. In one

¹ Rob. i. 352.

² Barclay, 181.

³ Schultz, 97.

⁴ See Holy City, ii. 144.

they branched off perpendicularly from the sides of the chamber, as in Fig. 1. In the other case the loculi were shallow and hewn out of the sides of the sepulchre, on each side one, and were parallel to the

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



sides, while opposite the door was a smaller niche, as if for the body of a child or for a lamp, as in Fig. 2. The circumstances which would regulate the adoption of the one or the other mode are obvious. The former admitted of the larger number of loculi, and was accommodated to a family, while the latter form of tomb could receive only two or three. The difference of expense would thus be considerable, and according to Schultz the former plan was that commonly in use amongst the poorer, and the latter amongst the wealthier, class.¹

The entrances to the sepulchral chambers were closed by stone doors, which sometimes swung on stone hinges, and were sometimes detached so as to be taken off or fastened on as occasion required. But about the time of our Lord's crucifixion there prevailed another and very singular mode of securing the door, viz. by a thick circular stone, like a heavy millstone, which moved along a groove cut laterally in front of the sepulchre; and which, when the tomb was to be closed, was rolled sideways to the mouth of the sepulchre, and, when admission was wanted, was rolled back. Fortunately,

¹ Schultz, 98.

in the Tombs of Helena, or, as they are now called, the Tombs of the Kings, we have a remarkably well preserved specimen of this machinery ; and by inspecting the annexed ground-plan and section taken from Tobler, and the view of the approach from Barclay, the reader cannot fail to perfectly understand the whole scheme. The trouble of following the details will be repaid by the light they throw on the New Testament.

The only other circumstance which we shall notice respecting the Jewish tombs is that in front of the doorway was commonly excavated a square open court, which was levelled, and, as we may presume, planted with funereal shrubs. There are traces of this to be found in the most ancient times, even under the Jewish monarchy. Thus Uzziah, being a leper, was not buried "with his fathers," but "in the field of the burial of the kings¹," and by "the field" is not improbably meant the open plat in front of the sepulchre ; so, when it is said that Manasseh and Amon were buried in the garden of Uzza², it is not unlikely that the sepulchral garden is intended. At what is called the Grotto of Jeremiah, the site of an ancient burial-place, the area in front is 90 feet square, and is still cultivated as a garden³, and at the Tombs of Helena, or of the Kings, the court is nearly a square, being $92\frac{2}{3}$ feet by 87 feet⁴, and also planted with shrubs⁵ ; and numerous other instances might be mentioned. There is usually in these courts, in front of the sepulchre, a cistern, the use of which was probably to water the plants in this little cemetery.

Let us now pass in review the few scattered no-

¹ 2 Chron. xxvi. 23.

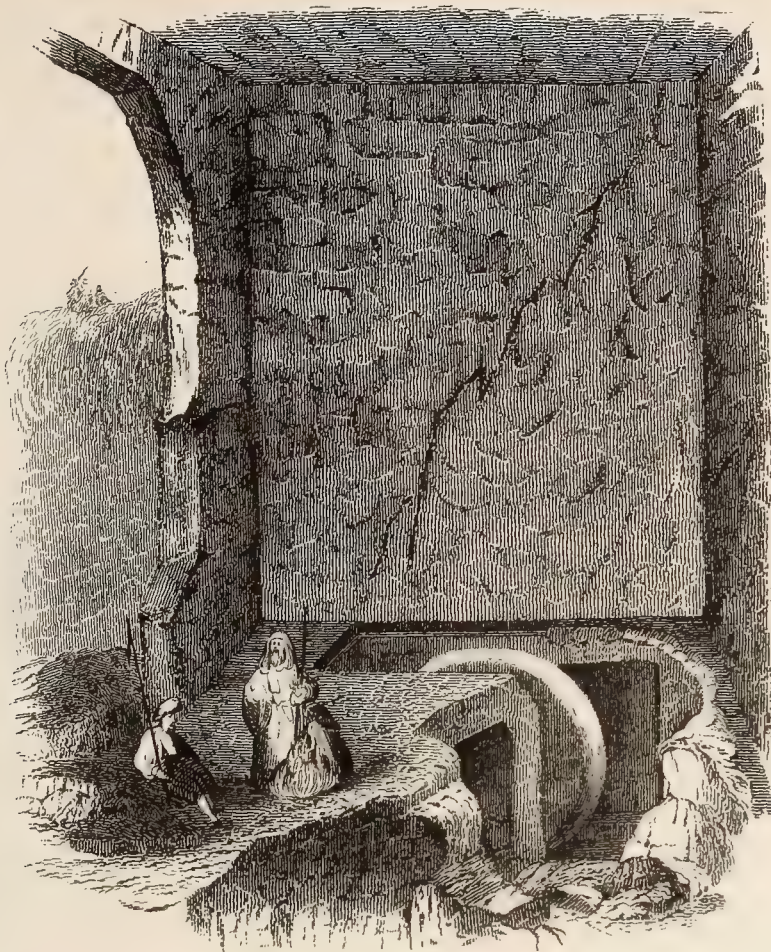
² 2 Kings xxi. 18, 26.

³ Barclay, 191. Tobl. Top. ii. 193.

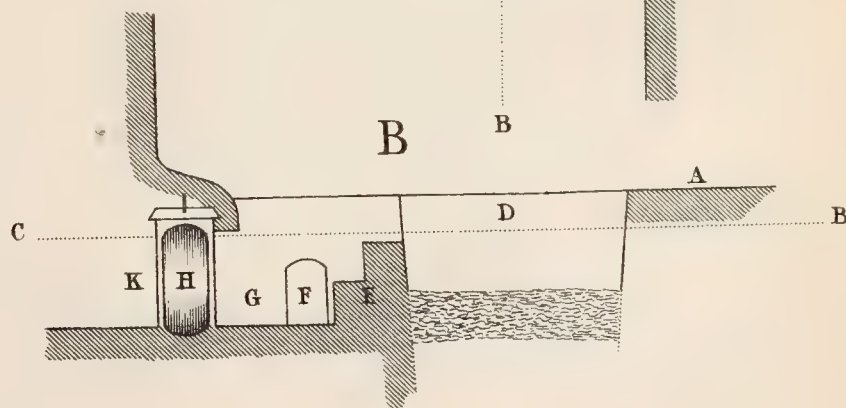
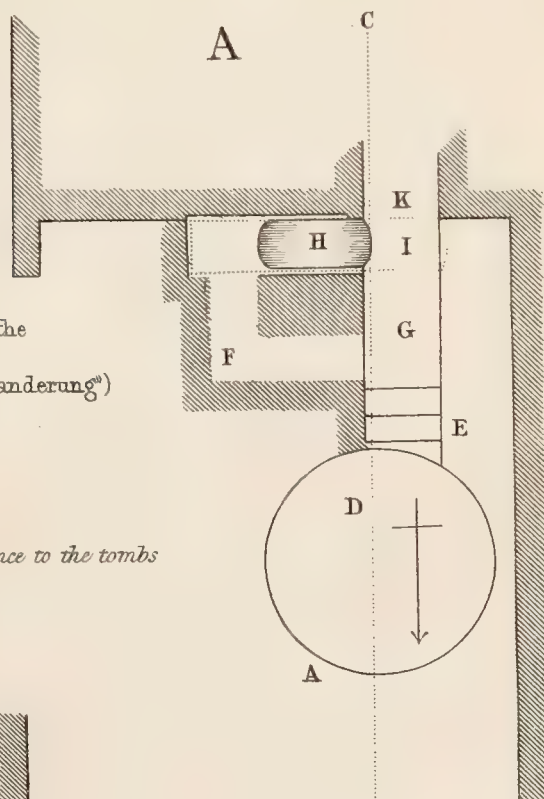
⁴ Rob. i. 357.

⁵ See a view of this court in front of the tomb, in Bartlett's Jerus. 127.

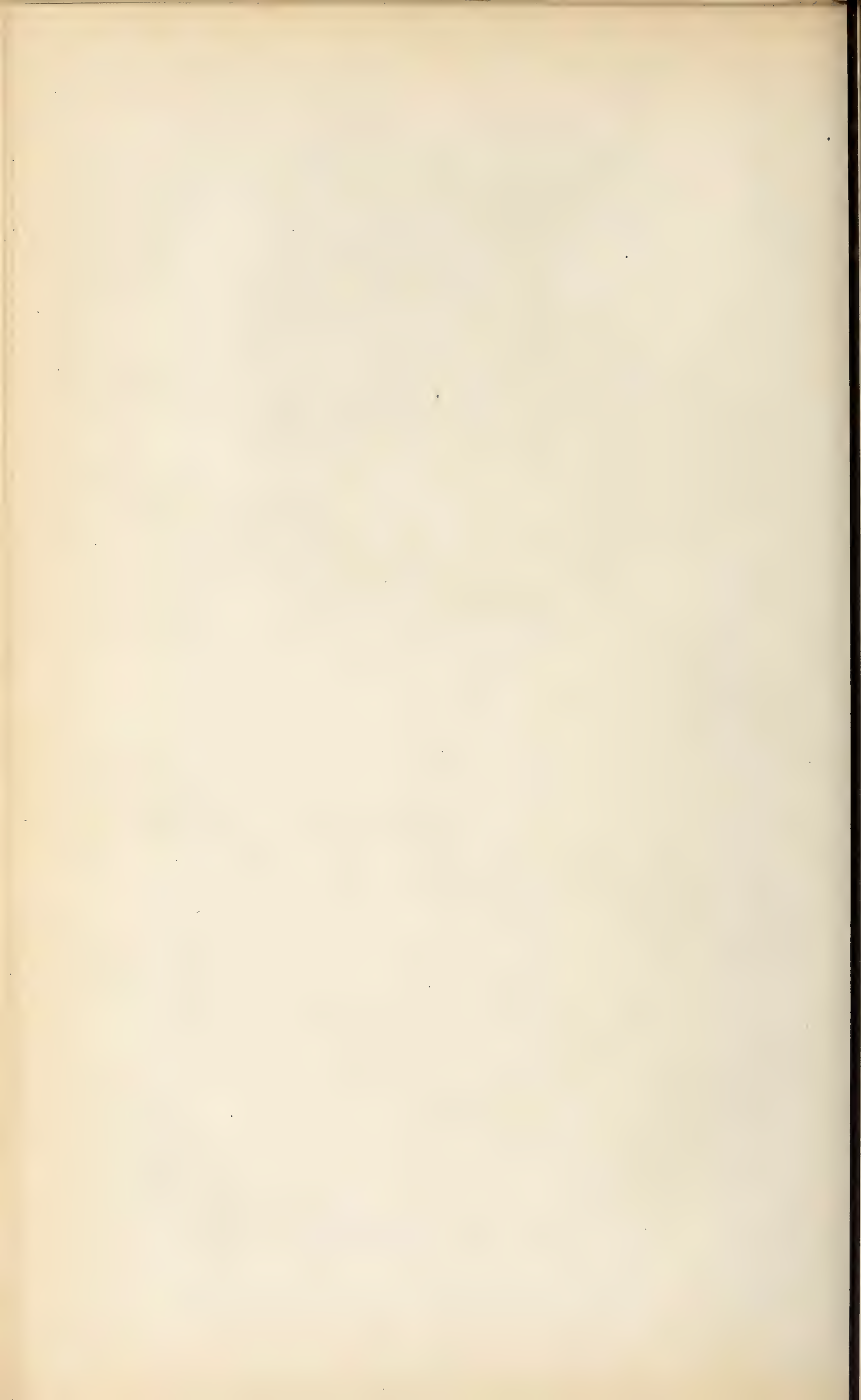
VIEW OF ENTRANCE TO THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS.
(from Barclays "City of the Great King")



- A Ground Plan } of the entrance to the
B Section } Tombs of the King's
(from Tobler's "Dritte Wanderung")
- A Vestibule
B C Line of Section
D Astern
E Steps
F Side approach to Disk
G Passage in the vestibule to the entrance to the tombs
H The Disk
I The Coverlid
K The entrance to the tombs



10' 0' 10' 20'



tices in the New Testament illustrative of our Lord's Sepulchre.

1. In the first place the tomb is said to have been hewn out of the rock.¹ This, at Jerusalem, would be matter of course, and affords but little light: it would not even indicate whether the tomb was excavated downward, as with the graves of the present day, or laterally, as was the custom of the Jews. But there are several other circumstances which leave no doubt upon this point; for,

2. When Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, members of the Sanhedrim, who, by their influence with Pilate, obtained possession of the body of Jesus, had swathed it in fine linen, with myrrh and aloes, and deposited it in the tomb, they *rolled a great stone* to the mouth of the Sepulchre.² And again, when the two Marys, viz. Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James and Joses, went with spices at the first dawn after the sabbath to anoint the body of Jesus, they said to one another by the way, "Who will *roll away* for us the stone from the mouth of the sepulchre? And when they looked, they saw that the stone was *rolled away*: for it was very heavy."³ "For the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and *rolled back* the stone from the door, and *sat upon it*."⁴ Here then we learn that the excavation of the tomb was lateral, for the mouth of it was closed by the same curious machinery as is still seen in the Tombs of the Kings, viz. by a circular stone moving along a groove in front of the tomb, and wheeled backwards and forwards, but not

¹ λελατομημένον ἐκ τῆς πέτρας. — *Mark* xv. 46. *Matt.* xxvii. 60. *Luke* xxiii. 53.

² *Matt.* xxvii. 60. *Mark* xv. 46.

³ *Mark* xvi. 3. *Luke* xxiv. 2.

⁴ *Matt.* xxviii. 2.

without great exertion. It is also to be remarked that the angel sat on the stone, and therefore it did not swing upon hinges, for had it been a stone detached from the Sepulchre, it would, when removed, have lain flat on the ground; but being a rolling stone, and preserving its upright position, it formed a natural seat for one guarding the mouth of the Sepulchre.

3. When, on the announcement by Mary Magdalene that the Lord had risen, Peter and John ran together to the Sepulchre, John, much the younger in age, outran Peter and came first to the Sepulchre, and “*stooping* down he saw the linen clothes lying;”¹ and afterwards when Mary Magdalene came the second time to the sepulchre, she “looked *stooping* into the sepulchre.”² The Greek word in the original is very expressive, for it signifies to stoop down one way and to look another. Peter and Mary, therefore, standing by the side of the door, bent down, and then turned their heads towards the mouth of the Sepulchre so as to look into it. Thus the tomb was obviously hewn laterally into the rock, and the doorway, as usual, was a low one, so that even a woman could not look into it standing.

4. When the two Marys came first to the Sepulchre and saw the angel sitting on the stone at the door, they were led by him into the tomb itself, “Come, see the place where the Lord lay,”³ “and entering into the sepulchre they saw a young man sitting on the *right* side;”⁴ and when Peter and John ran together to the Sepulchre, John, without entering in, but stooping down and looking into the Sepulchre, saw the linen clothes lying, but Peter, on coming up, went in and saw not

¹ παρακύψας βλέπει κείμενα τὰ ὀθόνια. — *John* xx. 5.

² παρέκυσεν εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον. — *John* xx. 11.

³ *Matt.* xxviii. 6.

⁴ *Mark* xvi. 5.

only the linen clothes, but also “the napkin that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself;”¹ and when Mary Magdalene afterwards returned by herself to weep at the sepulchre, she stooped down, and looking into the sepulchre saw “two angels in white sitting, *the one at the head and the other at the feet*, where the body of Jesus had lain.”² Now these passages point clearly to the nature of the Sepulchre. As John at the mouth of the Sepulchre saw only the linen clothes, but Peter on entering in saw the head-gear also folded in a place by itself, we may infer that within the door was a sepulchral chamber of larger dimensions, the full view of which could not be commanded from the entrance. But observe further that Mary Magdalene saw two angels, sitting one at the head and the other at the foot of the niche in which our Lord’s body had been deposited. It is clear then that in this tomb the loculus had not been excavated at right angles to the side of the Sepulchre, but parallel to it; for in the former case no one could have sat upon the loculus, but in the latter case it would be a kind of bench on which two persons would sit naturally one at the head and the other at the foot. Another circumstance to be noted is that Mary Magdalene, on her first arrival at the tomb, saw the young man sitting on the *right side* of the sepulchre; that is, the loculus in which the body of our Lord had been placed was, as you entered the sepulchral chamber, on the right hand.

5. In the next place the Sepulchre is said to have stood in a garden³; and as the tomb was not only nigh to the place of crucifixion, but is expressly said to have

¹ John xx. 7.

² John xx. 12

³ John xix. 41.

been *in the place of the crucifixion*¹, and as it is very unlikely that a pleasure-garden should have been formed at a scene of public executions, we may surmise that by the garden in question nothing more is meant than the open court or area commonly excavated in front of a sepulchre and planted with funereal shrubs. When Mary Magdalene was addressed by our Lord after His resurrection, she, without looking up, supposed him to be the *gardener*², which gives the idea of one who cultivated the garden; but the word, in the original, signifies the person who had the watch and ward of the garden, viz. for preventing injury to the Sepulchre.

How far, then, does the present Holy Sepulchre correspond with the character of an ancient Jewish tomb, or with the particulars which we have passed in review concerning the Sepulchre of our Lord? We must remark, *in limine*, that a resemblance only in the nature of the ground and in the general outline can be expected. For, first of all, when the Temple of Venus was erected on the spot, the Sepulchre can scarcely have escaped injury; and again, in A.D. 614, when Jerusalem was taken by the Persians under Chosroes II., the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was burnt with fire³; and again, about A.D. 1010, when that visionary fanatic, the Fatimite Khalif Hakim, razed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to its foundations, he wreaked his fury upon the Holy Sepulchre itself.⁴ If, therefore, the Sepulchre were presented to us unscathed, the very integrity of it would be an argument against its genuineness. What, then, in few words, is its present state?

¹ ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη, κήπος . . . ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μνημεῖον. — *John* xix. 41, 42.

² κηπουρός. — *John* xx. 15.

³ Rob. i. 387.

⁴ Rob. i. 395.

1. You enter the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the south, and the Rotunda is on the left-hand, or west. In the centre of the Rotunda is a small isolated oblong chapel, 26 feet long and 18 broad, square at the eastern end, and polygonal at the western, containing the Sepulchre itself. The access is at the eastern end of the chapel, and first is a small ante-room, the Chapel of the Angel¹, which is confessedly no part of the original Sepulchre, but the creation of some architect for the sake of effect. From the ante-room, a low narrow door conducts into a quadrangular chamber, having a wall close at hand on the left, and an open space, just room enough for standing, in front; and on the right a kind of altar, 2 feet 10 inches high, occupying more than half of the whole chamber, and encasing the sepulchral couch where the body of our Lord was laid. The dimensions of the whole chamber are 6 feet 8 inches in length, 6 feet 1 inch in width, and 8 feet 6 inches in height. It is nearly square, but not exactly so, the north-east and north-west angles being slightly acute, and the south-east and south-west angles slightly the reverse. The surface of the chamber is so covered with decoration, and begrimed with the smoke of the lamps which are continually kept burning, that no one can tell whether the material be rock, or plaster, or marble, though, formerly, the rocky surface was said to be observable about the door of the Sepulchre.² The situation of the Sepulchre is just on the ridge of the rocky hill coming down from the north-west in the direction of the Haram.

¹ See view of the Sepulchral Chapel, from the south-east, in Bartlett's *Jerus.* 174; Vogüé, 124; Barclay, 234; and view of the Sepulchre itself, through the ante-room and door from the east, in Bartlett's *Jerus.* 175; Barclay, 235.

² See *Holy City*, ii. 160.

On the west of the church the rock rises to the height of the gallery, which was originally entered from the street, and at the east end of the church is a flight of forty steps. In the natural state of the ground, therefore, the Sepulchre in the centre of the Rotunda must have been cut in the rock ; and not far from it, at the extreme west end of the same church, is another ancient tomb, that of Nicodemus, which is unquestionably excavated from the rock. The latter tomb has been referred by some to the times of the Crusaders, because on the floor are two graves sunk perpendicularly¹ ; but Schultz justly remarks that, while these two graves are comparatively modern, the antiquity of the two loculi which have been cut in the rock laterally, and run out horizontally, cannot with reason be doubted.² The tomb of Nicodemus cannot, of course, be that of Christ, as there is no *loculus* at the side parallel to the chamber.

2. Did the present Sepulchre stand in a garden ? We have suggested that by a garden was meant the open court or area usually excavated in front of a sepulchre ; and, if so, we may infer, with great probability, that just such a quadrangular space once stood before — that is, to the east of — the Holy Sepulchre, for the church is built, not upon the natural surface, but in a hollow excavated on the south-west and north sides from the rock. Constantine, when he erected the edifice, may have formed this area ; but there is no statement that he did so, but only that the lower side aisles of the church were built below the surface of the surrounding ground. Singularly enough, a tradition can be traced as far back as the fourth century, that the Basilica was

¹ Rob. iii. 180.

² Schultz, 97. See a ground-plan of this sepulchre in *Tobl. Dritte Wand.* 273.

built on the site of the garden attached to our Lord's Sepulchre¹; and, if the garden be understood in the sense which has been suggested, this must have been the case, as, from the slope of the ground, the court or square in front of the tomb must have been hollowed out and levelled on the east.

3. From the account of the New Testament, the real Sepulchre was entered upon a level. There was no going down into a subterranean recess, and no going up to a tomb cut high in the face of the rock, but the expressions are, they went in², or they went out³; and, accordingly, the present Sepulchre is approached upon a level, and not, like the tomb of Nicodemus, by a descent under ground.

4. The Sepulchre answers not only to the Jewish fashion in having a sepulchral chamber, but also to the particular feature to be collected concerning our Lord's tomb, that the niche or couch in which the body of our Lord was laid was not a *loculus* at right angles to the side of the Sepulchre, but parallel to it, so as to form a bench or seat when the body was removed. And this niche or couch is referred to in the New Testament as on the *right-hand* upon entering the tomb; and so in the present Sepulchre, immediately on passing the door, the altar or sarcophagus representing the place of the couch or niche is on the *right*.

5. It may seem, *primâ facie*, an objection to the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre, that while there is a *loculus* on the right-hand or north side, there is no corresponding *loculus* on the left-hand or south side. But it will be recollected that the Jews did not construct

¹ Rob. i. 376.

² Mark xvi. 5. Luke xxiv. 3. John xx. 6, 8.

³ Matt. xxviii. 8. Mark xvi. 8.

their sepulchres as we do our vaults, by completing the whole at once. A sepulchre with them was commenced by the excavation of a chamber and one loculus or more as the immediate occasion required ; afterwards other loculi were formed as they were wanted, and often, when there was no more room for additional loculi, a new chamber was opened in front or on the side, or even below. What, then, is the Scriptural account of our Lord's burial? That "a rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, . . . laid it [the body of Jesus] in *his own new tomb*, which he had hewn out of the rock,"¹ or, as it is literally, "in the new tomb of himself," as if it had been prepared for the interment of himself only, and therefore contained but one loculus. The absence of a niche on the left side of the Sepulchre, instead of being an objection, is thus, when duly considered, an argument for the genuineness of the Sepulchre.

We have only to add that the low square entrance into the tomb, and the circular stone rolling in a groove to open or shut the mouth of the Sepulchre, have long since disappeared. But for many centuries the rolling stone, or at least the form of it, was preserved, for Antoninus Placentinus speaks of the stone in his time as a millstone, i. e. of a circular shape, as the original must have been.²

We now close this lengthened discussion with the following conclusions as the result :—

1. From *à priori* considerations, we should look for the Sepulchre of our Lord in the quarter of the city where we now find it.

2. The Sepulchre, as now exhibited, is certainly

¹ Matt. xxvii. 57, 60.

² "Petra vero monumenti velut molaris est." — *Anton. Placent.*

identical with that over which Constantine erected his church.

3. The present Sepulchre, whether it retain or not any fragment of the original tomb, marks at least the spot where the body of our Lord was laid.

We now hasten on to the investigation of the *third wall*, the course of which is thus described by Josephus : "The commencement of the third wall was the tower Hippicus, whence stretching as far as the northern quarter to the tower Psephinus, then reaching over against the Tombs of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and mother of King Izates, and running along across the Royal Caverns, it turned with a corner tower at what is called the Fuller's Monument, and ended by joining the old ambit at the so-called Cedron ravine."¹

Various have been the opinions upon the direction of this wall. Some carry it far away north along the brink of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, by the Tombs of the Kings, which they identify with the Royal Caverns ; others draw it across the swell of ground on the north of the city, about half-way between the Damascus gate and the Tombs of the Kings ; others identify it with the present north wall of the city. Let us endeavour first, if we can, to trace the wall itself from existing remains. This will be the best evidence ; and, if we can satisfy ourselves that the course of the wall can thus be followed, the notices in Josephus must either be reconciled with the result or rejected as erroneous.

It is admitted on all hands that before the erection of the third wall by Agrippa the Temple platform lay

¹ Bell. v. 4, 2.

exposed on the north, that is, was not covered by the city wall. If, therefore, we find a Jewish wall running northward along the brink of the Valley of Jehoshaphat from the north-east corner of the Haram, we may conclude with moral certainty that it is the wall of Agrippa.¹ Now, between the north-east corner of the *Haram* and the north-east corner of the *city*, are five towers², and at the third tower from the Haram are bevelled stones, six and seven feet long, resting on the rock itself, and which apparently have never been disturbed; and between the third and fourth towers commences a trench excavated in the rock, and running up to the north-east corner of the city.³ Can it be doubted that here are the vestiges of Agrippa's wall? The size and bevelling of the stones, and the accompanying fosse, all point to this conclusion. On arriving at the north-east corner of the city, we stop and ask, Did the wall here continue northward or turn westward? From a strong desire to give the largest dimensions to the ancient city, travellers have examined over and over again the ground to the north of the present city wall, in the hope of tracking Agrippa's wall in that direction; but no one pretends to have found there any token of a wall, much less one of bevelled stones with a fosse.⁴ As the *whole* of the third wall was admirable for its strength⁵, can it be supposed that if the wall ran northward beyond the present limits, both foundations and trench should so utterly

¹ The Gihon Valley wall of Manasseh could not have extended so far north, and, besides, the course of the Gihon Valley wall is very uncertain.

² Tobl. i. 66.

³ Tobl. i. 58, 53.

⁴ Tobl. i. 118, 122. Rob. i. 315; iii. 188.

⁵ θαυμασίον δὲ ὄντος ὅλου τοῦ τρίτου τείχους. — Bell. v. 4, 3.

have disappeared as not to have left, by some accident, a single remnant behind?

Let us now try back and see if Agrippa's wall turned at the north-east corner with the present city wall, to the west. We have already observed that along the eastern side a trench runs at the foot of the wall from the third tower to the corner. On reaching the corner, the trench still cut in the rock deflects with the wall to the west; and, as the trench is probably coeval with the original wall, a strong inference arises that the wall of Agrippa here also turned westward, more particularly as the fosse is not continued northward. Not only so, but, according to Josephus, at the north-east corner of the wall was a tower, and at the north-east corner of the present wall are the remains of an ancient tower, the most colossal after those at the north-west corner of the city.¹

From the north-east corner to Herod's gate are three towers, and between the second and third from the corner are ancient bevelled stones, but not such as in the opinion of Tobler are necessarily referable to the age of Agrippa. But at the second tower from Herod's gate, that is, to the east of it, are stones more than eight feet long, and bevelled, and of unquestionable antiquity.²

Herod's gate itself does not appear to present any ancient remains, though, as it is situate in a depression between Bezetha hill on the west and a corresponding rise on the east, there was probably always a portal at this point.

From Herod's gate to Damascus gate are now five

¹ Krafft, 47.

² Tobl. i. 59. Krafft (46) also speaks of remains of a great tower, a hundred and twenty-five steps from the north-east corner.

towers, and along this reach at least three ancient towers have been traced: one at fifty steps east of Damascus gate; a second more to the east still, where the wall makes a slight bend; and the third between that and Herod's gate, at a hundred steps west of the latter, where the beautiful capital of an ancient column has been wrought into the wall.¹ Not only so, but, at the foot of the wall in which these remains are found, a deep fosse excavated in the rock has been carried from the Damascus gate eastward to the point where Bezetha hill attains its greatest height, and there a deep escarpment of the rock renders any fosse unnecessary.² Bezetha and the hill on the north, under which is now the Grotto of Jeremiah, were originally one unbroken ridge; but the space between the grotto and the city wall has been cut away by quarrying through successive centuries, and the line of the wall now stands on the northern brow of the hill of Bezetha³, and the rock at the summit has a perpendicular fall of great depth, which thus answers all the purposes of a trench. Krafft suggests that the fosse was commenced by Agrippa and left unfinished at the crown of Bezetha on receipt of an interdict from Claudius against the further prosecution of the work⁴; but the real explanation is, that the fosse ends where the natural defence of the rock begins.⁵

We come next to the Damascus gate; and here are most unquestionable remains of an ancient wall. As

¹ Krafft, 46. The last remains are said to consist of "colossale quadrosubstructionen," but the two former "aus festern Kittgemäuer."

² See view of the excavation along the north wall, Traill's Josephus, i. 105.

³ Rob. i. 266; iii. 190.

⁴ Krafft, 45.

⁵ Rob. iii. 191.

you enter the gate there stands on the left or east side "a square dark room adjacent to the wall, the sides of which are entirely composed of stones having precisely the character of those still seen at the corners of the Temple area, — large, bevelled, with the whole surface hewn smooth. Connected with this room on its west side is a winding staircase leading to the top of the wall, the sides of which are of the same character."¹ These foundations are in the same line with the wall which we have followed all along from the north-east corner of the Temple area, and therefore presumptively formed part of the third wall.² The existing Damascus gate is flanked by a tower on each side, and in the eastern one are the remains above described. In the western tower no corresponding masonry has been observed³, but we may assume that an ancient tower once stood on that site.

At the distance of 100 feet to the west of the western tower⁴ are again found indisputable traces of an ancient tower. Here, as at the Damascus gate, is a guard-chamber of large bevelled stones hewn smooth, and "at the bottom of the half archway, on the extreme right, appears the *under side* of a flight of steps, cut off at the

¹ Rob. i. 313.

² The antiquity of the gate will be at once recognised from an examination of the plates of it in Bartlett's Jerus. Rev. 187; Barclay, 132; and see ground-plan in Tobl. Dritte Wand. 340.

³ Tobl. Dritte Wand. 340; Rob. i. 313; but see Krafft, 42; Traill's Josephus, xlviii.; Tobl. Top. i. 58; Murray's Handbook for Syria, p. 109; which speak of a corresponding ancient chamber in the western tower.

⁴ Tobl. Dritte Wand. 340. In Traill's Jos. xlvii. it is said "100 yards," which is apparently a clerical mistake; for the writer immediately afterwards places the spot "at the distance of a few paces towards the west."

third step, and belonging, as it seems, to the ancient, not to the modern, portion of the building.”¹ “Of these stones,” says Robinson, “one measured $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and another $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by a like height. Some of them are much disintegrated and decayed, but they all seem to be lying in their original places, as if they had never been disturbed or moved from the spot where they were first fitted to each other.”² Tobler, in his Third Journey, furnishes a ground-plan of the tower in which this ancient masonry is found, and adds that it must have stood north-west and south-east, i. e. in a wall having the same direction as the present northern wall.³

From Dr. Wilson we learn that at the distance of 300 feet from the Damascus gate, and therefore beyond the ruins of the tower last spoken of, “the wall for some extent above its foundation bears, in the magnitude and peculiarity of its stones, the evidence of great antiquity.”⁴ But at the end of the 300 feet the continuity of the ancient remains ceases, and here therefore we break off for the present, and shall endeavour to trace the course of the third wall from its *western* commencement at the tower Hippicus.

All are agreed that from Hippicus, now the Castle of David, at the Jaffa gate, the third wall ran in a north-west direction, as far at least as the north-west corner of the present city. A fosse which runs along the exterior indicates the general direction.⁵ Several circumstances,

¹ Traill's Jos. xlvi.

² Rob. i. 313. An accurate view of these interesting remains will be found in Traill's Josephus, p. xlviii.

³ Tobl. Dritte Wand. 340, 341.

⁴ Lands of the Bible, vol. i. 421. Rob. iii. 219.

⁵ Tobl. Top. i. 71.

however, lead to the inference that the third wall did not, along this part, pursue the exact line of the present wall; for the towers at the north-west corner show no traces of Jewish masonry, and yet rest upon a foundation of rock, and the remains called Kalah el Jalûd, or the Giant's Castle, at the north-west angle of the present city, which belong unquestionably to the third wall, do not stand *in* the present wall, but *within* it, at the distance of about 12 paces from it¹, and, as they lie north and south, are not even in the same direction with the present wall, which ranges south-east and north-west.²

Kalah el Jalûd, or the Giant's Castle, is a square solid tower, 60 feet by 48 feet, and 20 feet high³, and is the tower called, in the time of the Crusaders, Tancred's Tower. The structure itself does not suggest any great antiquity, and cannot be at all referred to the time of the Herods. But "at the south-west corner of the mass, near the ground, are three courses of *large bevelled* stones, rough-hewn, passing into the mass *diagonally* in such a way as to show that they lay here before the tower and bastion were built."⁴ Krafft suggests that because the ancient stones run into the tower diagonally the ground-plan of the original fortification must have been "*octagonal*," and therefore identical with Psephinus, which was octagonal⁵; and, if we could acquiesce in the view that Kalah el Jalûd was Psephinus, it would follow that here was the north-west corner of the old city, and here, therefore, the wall must have turned west. However, it may fairly be objected that the divergence of the modern edifice from the form of the ancient, as indicated by the old foundations, proves only

¹ Tobl. Top. i. 67.

² Tobl. Top. i. 68.

³ Ib. 67.

⁴ Rob. i. 318; iii. 193. Tobl. Top. i. 66.

⁵ Krafft, 37.

that the modern square building is not a mere restoration of the old, which was no doubt of a different configuration, though not necessarily octagonal. The large bevelled stones also are far from proving that this was Psephinus, for Psephinus in Greek signifies "rubble,"¹ and the tower may have been so called as not built, like Hippicus, of regularly hewn stones, but of loose materials hastily collected.

As Kalah el Jalûd, or the Giant's Castle, cannot therefore, with any certainty, be identified with Psephinus, the question still remains whether the third wall here turned to the east, or whether it made a sweep round to the north-west, so as to gain the summit of the hill, before it bent eastward.

Let us first see whether any indications of the third wall can be found in the line between Kalah el Jalûd and the Damascus gate.

To the east of the Giant's Castle, but still at the north-west angle of the city, and due north from the Latin convent, "are the remains of a wall built of large hewn and *bevelled* stones, and near by are blocks so large that we at first, say Tipping and Walcott, took them to be the natural rock, but which, on closer examination, appear to be bevelled, though now *dislocated*."² It is not stated that the bevelled stones of the wall are *in situ*, and as to the blocks hard by they are expressly said to be dislocated. The stones and blocks, therefore, do not show conclusively the line of the original building. Assuming, however, that they occupy their primitive places, or nearly so, the spot is so close to the north-west angle of the city that the third wall, which certainly did not run in the

¹ From $\psi\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$, calculus.

² Rob. iii. 219. Tobl. Top. i. 59.

precise line of the present wall on the west, but within it, may have passed across this point in its direction northward, or the third wall may have here made a small elbow inwards towards the east, and then again have struck off northward.

It is further noticed by Tipping and Walcott that "an unusual proportion of stones between the north-west corner of the city and the Damascus gate, as also of those used in the adjoining buildings, are ancient and bevelled, and we could hardly resist the impression that this had been nearly the course of some ancient wall."¹ To this, however, it may be answered that here again the stones are not *in situ*, and therefore the only inference is that the ancient wall stood somewhere in the neighbourhood; and supposing Agrippa's wall to have run more to the north, it would be matter of course that the materials of the old wall should be brought down for the use of the new.

Again, at the fourth tower from Damascus gate (and there are five between the Damascus gate and the corner), the rock outside the present city is scarped from west to east, with its face to the north, and a little to the north is a corresponding scarpment with its face to the south; and hence the inference that a trench once ran near the foot of the present line of wall, and, if so, that it must have belonged to Agrippa's wall. But, in the first place, it is somewhat problematical whether the cuttings referred to are vestiges of a fosse; but allowing this to be so, the fosse may have belonged, not to Agrippa's wall, but to a wall of the Crusaders. It is unquestionable that another wall once stood at the

¹ Rob. iii. 219. See Wilson, i. 421. Rob. i. 318; iii. 188. Tobl. Top. i. 59, 121.

north-west corner of the city, without the present wall, and Robinson, the most competent judge, ascribes it to the middle ages.¹ Indeed, in the times of the Crusaders, the two walls were both standing at the same time, with a strip of open ground between them²; and, as they could not both be Agrippa's wall, they thus neutralise each other.

If we advance eastward, about half-way between the north-west corner and the Damascus gate, there are without the city "several traces of old wall indicating a tower or angle, with tolerably large *bevelled* stones and a trench."³ But bevelling alone is not decisive of a Jewish origin, as may be seen in the present western wall, for near the north-west corner is a bevelled gateway⁴, but which could not have belonged to the third wall, as it lies in a different line from the Giant's Castle, which was indisputably part of the third wall. The bevelled stones of the tower or angle in question may have been an imitation of the old style, or, which is more probable, brought from the ancient wall and worked up into the new building. Robinson himself, who notices these remains, is of opinion that they belong to the mediæval period.⁵

It must be conceded that if the several ruins which we have passed in review do indicate the course of an ancient wall at all, they can only be ascribed to the third wall, for it is manifest from Josephus that between the western limb of the second wall and that of the third wall was a wide open area sufficient for an

¹ Rob. i. 318; iii. 188, 219.

² Tobl. Top. i. 121.

³ Rob. iii. 188.

⁴ Probably the Porta Villæ Fullonis of the Crusaders, which lay on the west side of the city. See Rob. i. 321.

⁵ Rob. iii. 219, 188.

encampment, so that the remains at the north of the Latin convent, and the bevelled stones half-way between the north-west corner and the Damascus gate, cannot occupy the line of the second wall.

With the exception of the ruins above the Latin convent, which might have stood in the line of Agrippa's wall in its northward course, none of these remains lead necessarily to the conclusion that they belong to a Jewish wall. The materials employed may in many cases be of Jewish origin, but they do not rest in their original beds, and were probably conveyed thither from some older wall in the vicinity.

The improbability of Agrippa's wall having run in the direct line of the present wall, from the north-west corner of the city to the Damascus gate, strongly appears also from the two following considerations:—

In the first place, the circuit of Jerusalem is described by Josephus as containing 33 stades; and, if we draw Agrippa's wall along the line of the present, we cannot, upon a fair measurement, assign to it more than 30 stades.

Secondly, the course of the third wall can be actually traced a considerable distance beyond the north-west corner of the city in a north-westerly direction, and as the latter argument, if founded on fact, is decisive, we shall examine in detail the evidence on which this assertion is based.

The greatest authority, as usual, is Robinson. In speaking of the high ground at the north-west of the city, he observes:—

“On the east of the path [from the north-west corner to the Tombs of the Kings], about half-way between these tombs and the north-west corner of the city, we noticed foundations which belonged *very distinctly* to the third

wall, consisting of *large hewn* blocks of stone of a character corresponding to other works of those ages. On the west of the path, and running up the hill in a line with the above, were other similar foundations; and still further up were stones of the like kind, apparently displaced. By following the general direction of these, and of several scarped rocks which had apparently been the foundations of towers or the like, we succeeded in tracing the wall in zigzags in a westerly course for much of the way to the top of the high ground. Here are the *evident* substructions of towers or other fortifications, extending for some distance; and from them to the north-west corner of the city the foundation of the ancient wall is *very distinctly visible* along the hard surface of the ground.”¹

It will be observed that the foundations of the wall are here referred to as distinctly visible from the corner of the city to the crown of the hill; but, according to Robinson, from this culminating point eastward “the intervening wall is not traceable;”² but at the distance of 336 feet north 10° east he comes again to foundations³; and from the latter spot he suggests two different lines, and is doubtful which is the true one.⁴ Thus, on reaching the top of the hill, the course of the wall is lost, or is only matter of conjecture.

Tobler, who examined this quarter with great care, agrees with Robinson that the third wall extended north-west beyond the limits of the present city⁵, and in his third visit to Jerusalem expresses himself as more convinced than ever, from a survey of the locality, that the hypothesis was correct.⁶ The results of Tobler’s investigation are these:—

¹ Rob. i. 314; and see ib. 310. ² Rob. i. 315. ³ Rob. i. 315.

⁴ Rob. i. 315. ⁵ Tobl. Top. i. 124. ⁶ Tobl. Dritte Wand. 341.

“At the distance,” he says, “of 300 paces from the north-west corner [of the present city] is, on an elevated platform 75 paces square, the ruin of some ancient structure, and in the middle is a large cistern.”¹ This, according to some, must have been the site of Psephinus. But there are two objections to it: first, the platform is certainly *square*², whereas Psephinus was as certainly *octagonal*; and, secondly, Josephus expressly tells us that the cisterns of the towers in Agrippa’s wall were not at the bottom, but at the top, of the towers.³ We may hazard the conjecture that this square area was the site of the mansion Villa Fullonis, from which the Porta Villæ Fullonis, at the north-west corner of the city in the time of the Crusaders, took its name. “At 140 paces,” Tobler continues, “further to the north-west are ruins which may have belonged to towers; and then an earthwork runs east for 80 paces to the highest spot, which commands a fine view to the south-west.”⁴ From this crown of the hill, ruins, at irregular intervals and in a zig-zag direction, may be traced towards the north-east to a point to which a line drawn from the dome of the Holy Sepulchre would run N. 23° W.⁵ Here all further vestiges entirely cease, though strict search has been repeatedly made both to the north and east.⁶ I do not find, however, that from the crown of the hill the ground has been explored towards the south or south-east.

Schultz, another observer, considers the third wall as unmistakably traceable to the summit of the high ground at the north-west corner of the city, and thinks that the octagonal form of the tower Psephinus may be

¹ Tobl. Top. i. 117.

³ Bell. v. 4, 3.

⁵ Tobl. Top. i. 118.

² Tobl. i. 117. Krafft, 37.

⁴ Tobl. Top. i. 118.

⁶ Rob. i. 315. Tobl. Top. i. 118.

still distinguished.¹ He supposes also that the foundations of three small towers may be traced beyond this at intervals, and that the wall may be followed in a north-easterly direction across the path which leads to the Tombs of the Kings from the north-west corner of the city; and that the vestiges there cease, because Agrippa, when he had carried the wall thus far, received an interdict from Claudius against the further prosecution of the work.²

Krafft, on the other hand, asserts that he had often inspected these alleged remains of a wall, and that they consist of stones of no size, unhewn, and resting on the surface, and without a systematic plan; and that, in short, they could not have belonged to a regular fortification, but must mark the sites of private buildings.³ His observations, however, appear to be addressed, at least chiefly, not to the remains between the north-west corner of the city and the crown of the hill, but to those found at irregular intervals in a north-easterly direction from the summit.

Bartlett, in speaking of the direction of the third wall, observes: "The vestiges of buildings, and occasional appearances as though the rock had been scraped for foundations, *indicated beyond all doubt* the general direction of this outer bulwark [the third wall] *as far as an elevated point* where stood the tower of Psephinus."⁴ And again: "If we look at the high ridge just without the city wall on the north, beginning at a conspicuous terebinth tree at its north-west angle, we may trace the line of the third wall of the ancient city as far as a small Mohammedan tomb."⁵

Upon the whole, then, we should say that the line of

¹ Schultz, 62.

² Schultz, 63.

³ Krafft, 37.

⁴ Bartlett's Jerus. Rev. 189.

⁵ Ibid. 122.

the third wall can be traced from the north-west corner of the city to the summit of the hill, for so far "the ancient wall is very distinctly visible along the hard surface of the ground." But as to the remains beyond this point, and which are scattered at broken intervals over the hill in a north-easterly and easterly direction, we are disposed to refer them, not to Agrippa's wall, but either to private villas and the inclosures about them, or to the military works which on that favourite camping ground must from time to time have been erected. On the one hand, Josephus mentions that in this very tract, at the north-west of the city, the suburb was intersected by garden walls¹, and tesserae are frequently picked up in this part, proving that the mansions of the wealthy once stood there; and, on the other hand, we read that Titus pitched his camp on this very spot, and that walls were thrown up round the Roman entrenchment.²

The traces of the third wall clearly cease either at the summit or at a point N. 23° W. from the dome of the Holy Sepulchre, or at some intermediate point between the two; and the question therefore arises, What was the most probable course of the wall from the point where the existing remains end? We adopt the hypothesis that it ran down to the nearest point where vestiges of the ancient wall reappear, viz. in the line of the present wall at 300 feet west of the Damascus gate. Such a sweep of the third wall from the Giant's Castle to the summit of the hill, and thence to 300 feet west of Damascus gate, would give great force to the passage of Tacitus, that the walls of Jerusalem were artfully constructed so as to form bays inwards and projections

¹ ἐκτετάφρευτο γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους περὶ τὰς κηπείας ἅπαντα κήποις τε ἐπικαρσίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἔρκεσι διειλημμένα. — *Bell.* v. 2, 2.

² τῶν ἐρυμάτων. — *Bell.* v. 6, 5.

outwards¹; for, while the bend of the first wall round the Tyropœon would well correspond to the inward bay, this excrescence of the wall at the north-west corner would answer equally to the obliquity of the wall outwards.

We now proceed to a review of the scattered passages in the works of Josephus which may be thought to throw any light upon this difficult subject.

1. In the first place, the historian, as we have already noticed, reckons the circuit of the whole city at 33 stades²; and if we measure the outer wall with this sweep round at the north-west corner to the summit of the hill, and thence to a point 300 feet west of the Damascus gate, we shall find the result 19,800 feet, or exactly 33 stades. Could this computation of Josephus be thrown aside, we should not see much objection to the hypothesis of Krafft, that the third wall ran in the exact line of the present³; but as all topographers have considered these 33 stades to be a cardinal point in determining the course of the third wall, we cannot repudiate it as untrustworthy, and therefore have hazarded the conjecture that the third wall, at the north-west angle, made a detour to the summit of the hill, and then descended again south-westward to the vicinity of the Damascus gate.

2. Josephus assigns to the third wall ninety towers,

¹ Tac. Hist. v. 11.

² Bell. v. 4, 3.

³ Drawing the wall on the south of Pseudo-Sion, not along the ridge, but lower down, and carrying it on the eastern side of Pseudo-Sion to a point not far from Siloam, before it turns up the Tyropœon, and reckoning in the various angles made by the projecting towers, we estimate the measurement on Tobler's map just 33 stades. Krafft, therefore, may be right.

and reckons from tower to tower 200 cubits, or 300 feet.¹ The latter statement is clearly incorrect, as 300 feet multiplied by 90 would yield 45 stades for the third wall alone; whereas the circuit of the whole city, according to Josephus himself, was only 33 stades. To ascertain what were the spaces between the towers we must have recourse to existing remains, and these will furnish us with sufficient data. From the east flanking tower of Damascus gate, which is unquestionably the site of an ancient tower, to the ruins of the next old tower on the east, is about 100 feet²; and so again, from the west flanking tower of the Damascus gate to the ruins of the next old tower on the west, is also 100 feet.³ Thus the towers were apparently about 100 feet apart; but in taking the general average we must make some deduction by reason of the greater proximity of the two flanking towers at each gate, which of course were both reckoned amongst the ninety towers, and yet were much less than 100 feet apart: at the Damascus gate, for instance, the space between the towers is only 50 feet.⁴

Now the third wall is described as running all the way from Hippicus at the Jaffa gate round the northern boundary of the city, until it effected a junction with the old wall at the so-called Cedron ravine on the east of the Temple.⁵ The so-called Cedron ravine was the slip of ground on the west side of the platform between the Temple and the city wall, and reached from Bethesda on

¹ τοιούτους μὲν οὖν πύργους τὸ τρίτον τεῖχος εἶχεν ἐνενήκοντα, τὰ δὲ μεταπύργια τούτων ἀνὰ πῆχεις διακοσίους. — *Bell.* v. 4, 3.

² Krafft, 46.

³ Tobl. Dritte Wand. 340.

⁴ Krafft, 42.

⁵ τῷ δὲ ἀρχαίῳ περιβόλῳ συνάπτον εἰς τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα κατέληγεν. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

the north to Ophla on the south. Josephus, therefore, by saying that Agrippa's wall ended at the so-called Cedron ravine, may mean either that it ended at the north-east corner of the Haram as soon as it touched the so-called Cedron ravine, or near the south-east corner of the Haram at Ophla, where it met the first wall.¹ Let us suppose, first, that Agrippa's wall ended at the north-east corner of the Haram; and then, if we measure from the Jaffa gate to the summit of the hill, and thence to the north-east corner of the Haram, we shall find the distance 8100 feet, or about 90 feet for each interval between the towers; but if we measure from the Jaffa gate to Ophla, the length is 9900 feet, or about 110 feet for each interval. In either case the measurement is not much at variance with the number of towers assigned to the third wall.

3. When Titus had encamped on Scopus, or Prospect hill, which was seven stades from the city, he issued orders to clear the intervening ground "up to the wall,"² and accordingly his army levelled "all the ground from Prospect hill as far as the Tombs of Herod, which adjoined what was called the Serpent [or Dragon] Pool,"³ now Birket Mamilla, to the north-west of the Jaffa gate. When the ground had been cleared as far as the Tombs of Herod, Titus himself, with

¹ Bell. v. 4. 2.

² προσέταξεν ἐξομαλίζειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦ τείχους διάστημα. — Bell. v. 3, 2.

³ χθαμαλὸν ἐποιοῦν πάντα τὸν χῶρον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκοποῦ μέχρι τῶν Ἑρώδου μνημείων ἃ προσεῖχε τῇ τῶν Ὀφεων ἐπικεκαλουμένη κολυμβήθρα. — Bell. v. 3, 2. "A short distance south of the upper pool (Birket Mamilla) may be seen some large masses of rubbish and ruins, covering a few sepulchral caves hewn in the rock" (Murray's Handbook to Syria, p. 153); and these are thought to be the remains of the Herodian mausoleum.

two legions, proceeded to encamp on the north of the city, and directed another legion to take up its quarters on the west of the city opposite Hippicus¹; and, in order to screen the baggage-train on its way from Prospect hill to the two camping grounds, Titus arrayed his force, not only against the *northern*, but also against the *western, side of the city*², so that the clearance had been made on the west as well as on the north side. This leads to the inference that the third wall ran up the crown of the hill at the north-west beyond the present line of wall, for then the western limb of the third wall would have reached beyond the Tombs of Herod, and have rendered it necessary for Titus to mask with his troops the western as well as the northern wall of the city.

4. When Titus had taken the first wall he encamped at the north-west of the city, between the second and third walls; and if the third wall ran, as we have supposed, to the crown of the hill, there would be sufficient space between the third and the second wall for the encampment. The distance from the second wall would also be such that the missiles of the Jews would occasion no annoyance³, more particularly as the Jews were not possessed of the powerful engines of the Romans, and were very unskilful in the use of those they had.⁴ At the same time the camp of Titus was not very far from the second wall, for he extended his line all the way from the Assyrian camp, which lay at the north-west corner of the city, to the Cedron

¹ Ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα μοῖρα τῆς στρατιᾶς κατὰ τὸν Ἰππικὸν προσαγορευθέντα πύργον τειχίζεται διεστῶσα τῆς πόλεως ὁμοίως δύο σταδίους.—*Bell.* v. 3, 5.

² κατὰ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν.—*Bell.* v. 3, 5.

³ *Bell.* v. 7, 3.

⁴ *Bell.* v. 6, 3.

Valley, which lay on the east¹, in order, apparently, that they might thus be removed as far as possible from the reach of the besieged. When the Jews also made a sally from the High Town, at the High priest's monument by the Pool of Hezekiah, they drove the Romans before them as far as their camp², which must have been not far removed from the wall of the High Town, or the Jews would not have ventured so far in the presence of a superior force, one division of which lay on their left flank opposite Hippicus.

5. The third wall is said, after turning east, to have run over against the Tombs of Helena.³ We agree with Robinson⁴ in identifying the Tombs of Helena with the present Tombs of the Kings⁵, and the arguments which we consider conclusive are briefly these :—

a. Jerome, in describing the journey of Paula from Lydda to Jerusalem, makes her pass by Gibeah and then enter Jerusalem, leaving the mausoleum of Helena on the left-hand.⁶ Now Gibeah of Saul has been proved to be Tuleil-el-Fûl, a little way from Jerusalem on the east of the great northern road ; Paula, therefore, must have approached Jerusalem by this road, which, from the nature of the ground, must always

¹ ἐπισχῶν πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ μέχρι Κεδρῶνος. — *Bell.* v. 7, 3.

² The Romans retired ἐπὶ τὰ στρατοπέδα, and the Jews followed μέχρι τῶν ἐρυμάτων, when the Romans applied engines from the wall of the camp ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους. — *Bell.* v. 11, 5.

³ *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

⁴ *Rob.* iii. 251.

⁵ See views and plans of these tombs in Barclay, 194. Bartlett's *Jerus.* 129.

⁶ "In Gabaa urbe usque ad solum dirutâ paululum substitit . . . Ad lævam Mausoleo Helenæ derelicto . . . ingressa est Jerusolymam urbem." — *Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ.*

have taken the same line, and, if so, the Tombs of the Kings would be on her left-hand.¹

b. Pausanias, in an exaggerated and legendary style, describes the mausoleum of Helena as remarkable for its doorway, which was opened and closed by a curious mechanical contrivance², and accordingly in the Tombs of the Kings we find the entrance from the vestibule into the sepulchral chambers answering to this account: that is to say, in a groove at the side is a disc of stone, which is rolled backward to afford admission, and rolled forward for closing the passage.

c. Josephus mentions that Helena was buried in the pyramids³, and hence it has been objected that the tomb must have been, not a sepulchre excavated in the rock, but an erection upon the surface; but as Helena's remains could not have been deposited in more than one place, the description can only apply to a single sepulchre, and indeed Eusebius speaks of these pyramids as *στῆλαι* or *cippi*⁴, that is, pillars in the pyramidal form. We learn from Josephus the exact number of the pyramids, viz. three⁵, and when we examine the Tombs of the Kings we see at once the explanation. The vestibule of the sepulchre, the part which is so familiar to every eye, was formerly supported by two columns now broken away, and was thus divided into three compartments, and no doubt these three *cippi* or pyramids stood by the side of each other over these three portals. If any one will look at the architectural remains of Petra, which are of the same age with the Tombs of Helena, he will be satisfied what is meant by Josephus, as over the rock sepulchres of Petra

¹ Rob. iii. 252.

³ Ant. xx. 4, 3.

⁴ H. E. ii. 12.

² Pausan. viii. 16.

⁵ Ant. xx. 4, 3.

these pyramids surmounting the entrance are of frequent occurrence.

d. It has been objected that in the Tombs of the Kings are numerous chambers for the dead (say thirty-eight)¹, which cannot therefore be referred to the sepulchre of Queen Helena alone, but must be the vaults of the kings of Judah. But observe that Josephus does not speak of the *tomb* but of the *tombs* of Helena², that is, the mausoleum of the royal family of Adiabene; for it must be remembered that not only Helena but also her kindred were resident at Jerusalem, and how prolific the race was we may judge from the fact, that Izates, son of Queen Helena, had twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters³, not to mention that Monobazus, the brother of Izates, had a palace at Jerusalem⁴, and that other relatives of Queen Helena are also alluded to⁵, one of whom, Grapte, had likewise a palace at Jerusalem.⁶

e. Lastly, it is clear that these tombs are not those of the kings of Judah, for they are in a debased style of Roman architecture which belongs to the reign of Augustus, but cannot be assigned to any earlier period.⁷

In all the topography of the Holy City not any one point can be more relied upon, as an established fact, than the identity of the Tombs of Helena with the Tombs of the Kings; and the statement of Josephus, that the third wall in its direction eastward passed over against the Tombs of Helena, is in strict accordance with the fact. A spectator standing at the Tombs of the

¹ Tobl. Top. ii. 295.

² τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων. — Bell. v. 4, 2; v. 2, 2.

³ Ant. xx. 4, 3.

⁴ Bell. v. 6, 1.

⁵ Bell. vi. 6, 4.

⁶ Bell. iv. 9, 11.

⁷ Fergusson's Note on the Holy Sepulchre, p. 23.

Kings would look directly down upon the gate leading out of the city to the great north road.

6. Josephus relates that Titus, on arriving at Jerusalem, and wishing to reconnoitre the city, rode with a body-guard of cavalry along the north road, and then turned to the west towards Psephinus; that so long as he kept to the highway no enemy was to be seen, but that on his wheeling to the right towards Psephinus the Jews sallied out from the Women's Towers, which were over against the Tombs of the Kings, and, breaking through the body-guard, isolated Titus with a few followers.¹ These Women's Towers were the two flanking towers of the Damascus gate, and were an advantageous position for a sudden sally against an enemy moving down the north road and then diverging to the west.

7. The Jews afterwards made a feint of being split into two parties, the peace party and the war party; and the former stood on the Women's Towers inviting the Romans to come and take possession of the city, while the war party, going out of the gate, pretended to be ejected from the city, afraid to approach the Romans who were hostile, and unable to return from apprehension of their own countrymen. The snare in part succeeded, and some Romans advancing to the gate flanked by the towers² were saluted with a shower of stones and missiles, and were chased back all the way from the gate to the Tombs of Helena.³ How exactly this answers to the Damascus gate! It is flanked on the sides by two towers fifty feet apart.⁴ The eastern

¹ Bell. v. 2, 2.

² ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν τῆς πύλης ἐγένοντο πύργων. — Bell. v. 3, 3.

³ καὶ μέχρι τῶν τῆς Ἑλένης μνημείων εἶποντο βάλλοντες. — Bell. v. 3, 3.

⁴ Krafft, 42.

tower stands on the site of the ancient one, for the foundations still remain; and the western tower, no doubt, also occupies the place of the ancient, for it stands at 100 feet from the next old tower on the west¹, just as the eastern tower of the Damascus gate stands 100 feet from the ancient tower on the east.² The Damascus gate is four stades from the Tombs of the Kings, and the Jews would naturally follow the Romans for about that distance from the wall. Titus at this time was encamped on Prospect Hill on the other side of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, or the pursuit would not have been pressed so far. Certainly Josephus states the Tombs of Helena to be three stades from the city, whereas they are just four stades from the present wall; but it can hardly be supposed that the exact distance had been measured by Josephus, and, as he was writing his history at Rome from his recollection of the ground, he might well be mistaken in a single furlong. Had the ancient wall been *just three stades* from the Tombs of Helena, that is, one stade from the Damascus gate, ruins of the wall, and particularly of the two Women's Towers, would no doubt have been discovered there; but not a vestige of ancient fortifications can be traced in that part.

8. The third wall is described by Josephus, after passing the Tombs of Helena, as running across the Royal Caverns.³ Krafft, who agrees with us in identifying the third wall eastward of the Damascus gate with the present wall, was, from the imperfect knowledge of that

¹ Tobl. Dritte Wand. 340.

² Krafft, 46.

³ ἔπειτα καθῆκον ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων, καὶ διὰ σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν μηχανόμενον ἐκάμπτετο μὲν γωνιαίῳ πύργῳ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Γραφέως προσαγορευόμενον μνῆμα. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

day, under a difficulty. He could find nothing to correspond to the Royal Caverns but the Grotto of Jeremiah, which lies about a stade to the north of the wall; and as the hill in which the grotto is excavated had apparently at one time been the continuation of the hill of Bezetha, on the northern brow of which the present wall stands (the intervening space having been quarried), the wall on Bezetha might, he thought, be said to run across the Royal Caverns, inasmuch as these caverns were under the northern segment of the hill, of which the southern segment supported the wall.¹ But recent explorations have elicited the full meaning of the historian, for in the rock which underlies the wall at the highest point of Bezetha is the entrance into the subterranean excavation now known as the Cotton Cavern.² It extends in a south-eastern direction for more than a quarter of a mile, though its greatest breadth is less than half that distance.³ It is the great quarry from which ancient Jerusalem was built, and was perhaps called the Royal Cavern from its vast extent, as the southern cloister of the Temple, from its superior breadth and magnificence, was called the Royal Cloister. This cave was not unknown in the time of the Sultans, but was afterwards lost sight of until it was recently discovered, accidentally, by a dog scratching away the stones which had sealed up the mouth. We have no intention of describing this Tartarean region, but suffice it to say that the entrance into the cave is in the rock itself, which supports and forms

¹ Krafft, 45.

² See view of the wall where the entrance is, in Barclay, 459; Traill's Josephus, i. 104; of the entrance itself, Tobl. Dritte Wand. 256; and plan of the cavern, Tobl. Dritte Wand. 258.

³ Barclay, 467.

part of the wall, so that the account of Josephus is verified to the letter, that the third wall as it ran from the Damascus gate was carried "across" the Royal Caverns. This affords a strong argument that, at least from the Damascus gate to the north-east corner, the wall of Agrippa took the exact course of the present wall.

All these extracts from Josephus tend to the conclusion that the third wall ran in the line of the existing wall, with the exception that at the north-west angle it reached somewhat further, viz. to the crown of the hill, and then descended south-eastward to a point 300 feet west of the Damascus gate.

In further support of this view we may add, that if, as some suppose, the third wall inclosed the *whole* swell of ground at the north of the city, so as to run near the Tombs of the Kings along the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Bezetha or the New Town, which after all was a suburb only, would be equal in its dimensions to the ancient city itself, a very improbable supposition.¹

If, again, the third wall ran across this swell of ground at any point *between* the present north wall and the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where shall we draw the line, so that the wall should, in a military point of view, be at all defensible? The present wall stands on the brow of the hill of Bezetha; but in front of the present wall no favourable ground for a fortification offers itself, and no traces of any such fortification have been found. The line of the present wall "is actually the best defensive line that could be adopted without inclosing a very much greater space,"² viz. by passing

¹ Bartlett's Jerus. Rev. 180.

² Bartlett's Jerus. Rev. 189, 184; and see Notes by Dr. Buchanan, p. 123.

round by the Tombs of the Kings along the edge of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which was certainly not the course of the third wall.¹

There is, however, one objection to the identification of the third wall with the line of the present wall, but which applies almost equally to any other theory. It may be said that, if the course of the third wall be drawn as we have supposed, it is impossible to find room for the vast population assigned to Jerusalem by Josephus. If his numbers be admitted, the inference is indisputable; but the argument proves too much, for on no conceivable hypothesis could the limits of the walls, as necessarily required by the nature of the ground, have held the multitudes which the imagination of the historian has created. According to Josephus the numbers assembled at Jerusalem at the public festivals were sometimes 2,500,000², and sometimes even 3,000,000³; and those slain during the siege were reckoned at 1,100,000, and the captives at 97,000, besides 40,000 whom Titus set at liberty.⁴ Now the most densely peopled part of London contains only one person for every thirty square yards⁵, and, as we have drawn the course of the walls, the number of square yards in Jerusalem would be, say, at the outside, 900,000, which at thirty square yards for each person would yield only 30,000 inhabitants. But extending the walls to the utmost verge, as on the north along the Valley of

¹ The Jews, for instance, could not have chased the Romans all the way from the Women's Towers to the Tombs of Helena, now the Tombs of the Kings, if the Women's Towers were in a wall running by the Tombs of the Kings; neither would the northern wall have been seven stades, as Josephus states, from Scopus, or Prospect hill.

² Bell. vi. 9, 3.

⁴ Bell. vi. 8, 2.

³ Bell. ii. 14, 3.

⁵ Fergusson, 50.

Jehoshaphat by the Tombs of the Kings, not more than 3,000,000 square yards would be inclosed, which, at the same rate, would yield only 100,000 inhabitants.¹ Supposing that, as the siege commenced at a festival, the population for the time was doubled, as Josephus states was the case, the result would be only 200,000, which is utterly at variance with the accounts of Josephus. There are also several collateral circumstances which throw discredit on the historian in this particular. Thus the besieging force under Titus was 25,000, or, at most, 30,000 men.² In modern warfare a besieging army ought to be four or five times as numerous as the besieged; but even assuming that Josephus is correct in asserting that the force within was 23,400³, yet, taking the proportion of those who bore arms to the whole population to be one sixth, and no doubt all bore arms who were capable, we do not bring out so many as 150,000 inhabitants.⁴ That the besieged were few in number as compared with the besiegers is self-evident, for, had not this been the case, Titus could never have dared to break up his army into three divisions, one at the north-west corner of the city, another opposite Hippicus, and the 10th legion on Mount Olivet. How, again, could the Romans have otherwise erected around Jerusalem a wall of circumvallation $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, and which, nevertheless, the Jews, though pressed by the severest famine, were unable to force? We therefore entirely acquiesce in the truth of Fergusson's remark, that "there is no point on which Josephus seems to have considered

¹ See Fergusson, p. 52, but who, in assigning 2,212,000 square yards, does not include the southern part of Ophel.

² Bell. v. 1, 6.

³ Bell. v. 6, 1.

⁴ See Fergusson, 48.

himself safer to exaggerate than on this. No one counted the people when they were alive, and no one could count them when they were dead or dispersed, and he consequently seems on all occasions to have given free play to his imagination in speaking of the numbers of his countrymen.”¹

3. OF THE TEMPLE.

Of the outer Temple.

In the reign of Herod, and probably from the very first, the outer Temple was a square, measuring a stadium on each side.² Thus, in one place, the Temple, as distinct from Antonia, is said to be a square³, and in another place the southern side is stated to be a stadium in length⁴, and in another the eastern side is declared to be also a stadium.⁵

The gates of the outer Temple were the following:—On the *south* was a double gate, at about the middle.⁶ On the *west* were four gates: one, the most southerly, leading by a bridge across the ravine to the palace in the High Town,—that is, the palace of the Asmoneans, as opposed to the upper⁷ or Herod’s palace at the north-west corner of the High

¹ Fergusson, 47.

² Ant. xv. 11, 3; viii. 3, 9.

³ τὸ ἱερόν μετὰ τὴν καθαίρεσιν τῆς Ἀντωνίας τετράγωνον ἐποιήσαντο.
— Bell. vi. 5, 4.

⁴ μῆκος δὲ στάδιον. — Ant. xv. 11, 5.

⁵ ἦν δὲ ἡ στοὰ τοῦ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ, κειμένη δὲ ἐν φάραγγι βαθείᾳ, τετρακοσίων πηχῶν τοὺς τοίχους ἔχουσα. — Ant. xx. 9, 7.

⁶ τὸ δὲ τέταρτον αὐτοῦ μέτωπον τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν εἶχε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ πύλας κατὰ μέσον. — Ant. xv. 11, 5.

⁷ ἡ ἀνωτέρω αὐλή.

Town¹; two other gates on the west, leading down into the suburb which lay between Moriah and the High Town; and the fourth and most northerly gate, conducting to the inner Low Town.² On the *north* was a single gate, which Josephus refers to anonymously³, but which the Middoth calls Tedi; and on the *east* was a gate called Shushan, from the representation of the city of Susa which was sculptured over it. It was this outer Temple which was described by our Lord as a den of thieves. Here, as in a market-place, were congregated those who bought and sold; and here stood the tables of the money-changers, and those who sold doves.⁴ The foreign coinage brought by the pilgrims from the four corners of the world was here converted into Jewish currency, which could alone be paid into the corban or Temple treasury; and the doves were for sacrifice, as in the case of our Lord's mother, who offered for him a pair of turtle-doves and two young pigeons.⁵

Of the inner Temple.

Within the outer Temple was the Temple proper. It commenced with a stone fence $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, with small obelisks at intervals, bearing the inscription that no Gentile might pass under penalty of death.⁶ Within

¹ Bell. ii. 17, 6.

² ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐσπερίοις μέρεσι τοῦ περιβόλου πύλαι τέσσαρες ἐφέστασαν, ἡ μὲν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τείνουσα, τῆς ἐν μέσῳ φάραγος εἰς διόδον ἀπειλημμένης· αἰδὲ δύο εἰς τὸ προάστειον, ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, βαθμῖσι πολλαῖς κατὼ τε εἰς τὴν φάραγγα διειλημμένη, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄνω πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσβασιν.—*Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

³ Bell. ii. 19, 5.

⁴ Matt. xxi. 12.

⁵ Luke ii. 24.

⁶ The Jews were allowed to put any man, even a Roman, to death, for breach of this law. Bell. vi. 2, 4.

the stone fence you mounted a flight of fourteen steps, when you landed on a platform, which, on the *north* and *west* and *south* sides, was only 15 feet wide; and you then ascended another flight of steps up to the sanctuary or court of the priests, which was encompassed by a wall $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet high on the interior. But on the *east*, being the front of the Temple, the platform before mentioned was not limited to a breadth of 15 feet, but was a rectangular space surrounded by a wall of its own, and called the Court of the women, not as confined to that sex, but as the only court open to them.

According to the Mishna¹ the inner Temple stood not exactly in the middle of the outer Temple, but nearest to the west side, farther from the north, farther still from the east, and farthest of all from the south. But according to Josephus the inner Temple was in the middle, not far from the cloisters.² The two statements may be brought nearly together by supposing Josephus to speak with reference to the cloisters, and the Middoth to the outer walls; for the greater space alluded to by the Middoth on the south was counterbalanced by the greater width of the cloister in that part: that is, on the three other sides the cloisters were 30 cubits or 45 feet wide³, but on the south the cloisters were treble, consisting of a nave and two side aisles; the nave 45 feet wide, and the two side aisles 30 feet each, making together 105 feet.⁴

The inner Temple had in all ten gates. One, the

¹ Middoth, c. ii.

² τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ πρῶτος περίβολος ἦν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἀπέχων οὐ πολὺ δεύτερος. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

³ πλατεῖαι μὲν ἦσαν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα πήχεις. — *Bell.* v. 5, 2.

⁴ τῶν δὲ αἱ δύο . . . εὖρος ἑκατέρας πόδας τριάκοντα . . . τῆς δὲ μέσης εὖρος μὲν ἡμιόλιον. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

Corinthian or Beautiful gate, on the east, leading up to the court of the women; and another, on the opposite side of the same court, leading up to the sanctuary or court of the priests; four on the north side, and four other on the south. Of the four on the north, the three most westerly led up to the altar and fabric of the Temple itself, and the fourth, the most easterly, to the court of the women; and the four gates on the south were in corresponding positions.

4. OF FORT ANTONIA.

The fortress of Antonia is commonly supposed to have occupied the north-west corner of the Haram, but that spot was the site of the Acra, the Macedonian keep; and Antonia stood lower down on the mount called in the Maccabees "the mount of the temple, that was *by the side of the Acra*¹," viz. to the north of the Temple, but to the south of the Acra. Thus, when Herod had captured the north wall of the Temple platform, and therefore the fortifications on the site of the Acra, he was still not in possession of the Baris, afterwards Antonia; but Antigonus still held out there, and did not surrender himself until Herod had become master of the whole city.²

That Antonia lay along the northern side of the Temple appears from numerous passages of Josephus.³ But while it occupied the greater part of the northern side, it did not cover the whole of it. Thus John, who held the Temple while Simon occupied the High Town

¹ 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

² Ant. xiv. 16, 2.

³ κατὰ δὲ τὴν βόρειον πλευρὰν ἀκρόπολις ἐγγώνιος εὐερκὴς ἐτετείχιστο. — Ant. xv. 11, 4. τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸ βόρειον ἐπὶ αὐτῷ φρούριον. — Bell. i. 21, 1.

and Low Town, defended himself against the Romans from Antonia, and also *from the northern cloister*¹; and again, when Titus reviewed his army, the Jews looked on from the *northern part of the Temple*, so that the wall and towers of Antonia could not have stood between.² But that Antonia lay more to the west, than to the east, of the north side of the Temple results from the statement that it was situate at the *north-west corner* of the Temple.³ Indeed, when Titus had taken Antonia he cast up two mounds against the Temple, and one of them was outside Antonia against the northern cloister, which of course could not be if Antonia covered the whole of the north side.⁴

The cloisters originally ran round the Temple only, but Herod cut through the northern wall of the Temple and continued the cloisters to Antonia and round the interior of the fortress.⁵ However, Antonia itself did not touch the Temple, but was united to it by two parallel cloisters erected by Herod, one to the east and the other to the west, and which were called the limbs or legs⁶, or connecting galleries⁷, of the Temple.⁸ The

¹ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ τε τῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου στοᾶς τοῦ Ἱεροῦ. — Bell. v. 7, 3.

² κατεπλήσθη γὰρ ἀφορώντων τό τε ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος ἅπαν, καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα. — Bell. v. 9, 1. Here, however, the Temple may be spoken of in a large sense, as comprising Antonia.

³ ἡ δὲ Ἀντωνία κατὰ γωνίαν μὲν δύο στοῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον. — Bell. v. 5, 8.

⁴ τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἔξω κατὰ τὴν βόρειον στοάν. — Bell. vi. 2, 7.

⁵ διακόψαντες δὲ καὶ τὸ προσάρκτιον τεῖχος τοσοῦτον προσέλαβον ὅσον ὑστερον ἐπεῖχεν ὁ τοῦ παντὸς ἱεροῦ περίβολος. — Bell. v. 5, 1. τὸ δὲ ἔνδον [of Antonia] μεμέριστο εἰς πᾶσαν οἴκων ἰδέαν τε καὶ χρῆσιν, περιστοὰ τε καὶ βαλανεῖα, etc. — Bell. v. 5, 8.

⁶ τὰ μέλη.

⁷ αἱ συνεχεῖς στοαὶ.

⁸ οἱ δὲ στασιασταί, δείσαντες μὴ πάλιν ἐπελθὼν ὁ Φλῶρος κρατήσῃ

cloisters leading to Antonia stood, as we may conclude from the natural slope of the mount from north to south, on higher ground than the Temple, and accordingly we find that Antonia was approached from the cloisters of the Temple by steps¹; and it was up these steps that Paul was carried from the Temple into the castle, i. e. Antonia.²

As to the exact dimensions of the fortress, Josephus in one place tells us that Herod, by including Antonia within the precincts of the Temple, made the area of the Temple double what it was.³ And as the Temple was a square of 600 feet on each side, Antonia, if it doubled the area, must also, if a square, have contained

τοῦ ἱεροῦ διὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἀναβάντες εὐθέως τὰς συνεχεῖς στοὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἀπεκόψαν. — *Bell.* ii. 15, 6. καὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀπεκόψατε τῆς Ἀντωνίας. — *Bell.* ii. 16, 5. ἐν ᾧ Ἰουδαῖοι κακούμενοι ταῖς συμβολαῖς αἰὲ κατ' ὀλίγον κοροφονόμενον πολέμου καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσέρποντος, καθάπερ σηπομένου σώματος, ἀπέκοπτον τὰ προειλημμένα μέλη, φθάνοτες τὴν εἰς πρόσω νομήν. τῆς γὰρ βορείου καὶ κατὰ δύσιν στοᾶς τὸ συνεχές [the western arm] πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἐμπρήσαντες, ἔπειτα ἀπέρρῃξαν ὅσον πήχεις εἴκοσι . . . μετὰ δ' ἡμέρας δύο . . . τὴν πλησίον στοάν [the eastern arm] ὑποπιπρῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ μέχρι . . . πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν προκόψαντος τοῦ πυρὸς, ἀποκόπτουσιν ὁμοίους Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν ὀροφὴν . . . τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν συναφὲς αὐτῶν διαίρουντες. — *Bell.* vi. 2, 9.

¹ καθὰ δὲ συνῆπτο ταῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοαῖς, εἰς ἀμφοτέρας [the western and northern] εἶχε καταβάσεις. — *Bell.* v. 5, 8.

² μέλλων δὲ εἰσάγεσθαι εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν . . . ὁ Παῦλος ἐστῶς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, etc. — *Acts* xxi. 37, 40.

³ αὐτόν τε τὸν ναὸν ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνετειχίστατο χώραν τῆς οὐσης διπλασίαν, ἀμέτροις μὲν χρησάμενος τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν, ἀνυπερβλήτῳ δὲ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ· τεκμήριον δὲ ἐστίν, αἱ μεγάλαι στοαὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, καὶ τὸ βόρειον ἐπ' αὐτῷ φρούριον· αἷς μὲν γὰρ ἀνωκοδόμησεν ἐκ θεμελίων τὸ δὲ ἐπεσκεύασε πλούτῳ δαψιλεῖ, κατ' οὐδὲν τῶν βασιλείων ἔλαττον ὃ Ἀντωνίαν ἐκάλεσεν. — *Bell.* i. 21, 1.

600 feet on each side ; or, if a rectangle, must have had its sides of greater length.

Now, on the one hand, Antonia did not cover the *whole* north side of the Temple, and the *breadth* of Antonia must therefore have been less than 600 feet ; on the other hand, the cloisters of the Temple were four stades, and, with the cloisters of Antonia reckoned in, were only six stades¹, so that the *length* of the sides of Antonia could not have exceeded 600 feet, or the cloisters round the Temple and Antonia together would have made more than six stades. The space, therefore, inclosed by Antonia could not, when added to the Temple, have actually doubled its dimensions ; but Josephus, by so stating in general terms, must be understood as saying only that this was nearly the result.

We can determine whereabouts the eastern parallel cloister of Antonia, in descending from the north, struck the northern cloister of the Temple, with some exactness, as follows :—

When Titus had mastered Antonia and burnt the northern cloister of the outer Temple, he made his approaches against the inner Temple by four mounds, two within the site occupied by Antonia, and two without it. When the legions had completed “the two mounds,” they applied the battering ram against the western side of the inner Temple, and assaulted the northern gate of the Temple.² It is not said what two mounds these were, but it may be gathered from the narrative itself. One of the two was of

¹ ὁ δὲ πᾶς κυκλὸς αὐτῶν εἰς ἑξ σταδίους συνεμετρεῖτο περιλαμβανομένης καὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας.—Bell. v. 5, 2.

² τὴν ἐσπέριον ἐξέδραν τοῦ ἔσωθεν ἱεροῦ . . . τῆς δὲ βορείου πύλης.—Bell. vi. 4, 1.

course that on the west of the Temple, as the western wall of the inner Temple was battered from it. The other was the mound cast up outside of Antonia against the northern cloister of the Temple¹, for it gave access to what Josephus calls "the northern gate."² The mound in question could not have been either of those within Antonia, for one of them was directed against the north-west corner of the inner Temple, where was no gate, and the other was not against a gate, but against the ἐξέδρα *between* the two gates.³ Neither by "the northern gate," which was opposite the mound, can Josephus refer to the northern gate of the *outer Temple*, called in the Middoth "Tedi;" for, when the gate held fast, the Romans applied ladders from it to the cloisters⁴, which must have been the cloisters of the inner Temple, for the northern cloister of the outer Temple had been previously destroyed.⁵ As this northern gate, therefore, was one of the four northern gates of the inner Temple, and as the two mounds within Antonia, more to the west, were one of them over against the north-west corner of the inner Temple, and therefore near the most westerly of the four gates, and the other over against the ἐξέδρα between the two next or middle gates, the mound without Antonia could only have been cast up against the most easterly of the four northern gates of the inner Temple. If so, it was at the distance of about 475 feet from the western wall of the Temple, which was 600 feet broad; and, as it was without the site of Antonia, the eastern cloister of Antonia itself must have joined the northern

¹ τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἔξω κατὰ τὴν βόρειον στοάν. — *Bell.* vi. 2, 7.

² τῆς βορείου πύλης. — *Bell.* vi. 4, 1.

³ *Bell.* vi. 2, 7.

⁴ *Bell.* vi. 4, 1.

⁵ *Bell.* vi. 3, 2.

cloister of the Temple at about 450 feet from the western wall. The area, therefore, inclosed by the cloister of Antonia would be about 600 feet long by about 450 feet broad.

Josephus, in one place, furnishes us with a particular description of Antonia¹, and as the account has been considered by some not very intelligible, it may be worth while to repeat it with a few accompanying remarks:—

“Antonia,” he says, “lay at the corner of two cloisters of the outer Temple, viz. the western and northern. It was built upon a rock 75 feet in height, which was precipitous all round.” If this height be applied to all the sides it must be a great exaggeration, as there is no rock on the Temple platform of anything like this altitude. But, probably, Josephus had in his mind the most favourable side, viz. the western, where was the Asmonean Valley; and, if so, then if we allow for the underground foundations, the height might have approximated somewhat to the amount stated.

“First of all, the rock from the foot of it was faced with smooth layers of stone, both for beauty, and that any one might lose his footing who attempted either to ascend or descend.” This slope of the base of the tower was a favourite style of fortification with Herod, for it was adopted also at his palace in the High Town; at least Phasaelus, one of the three great towers there, was thus built, as may be seen from the view of Phasaelus, erroneously called Hippicus in Bartlett’s “Jerusalem Revisited;”² and in Traill’s Josephus.³ As Antonia had a communication with the *western* cloister of the Temple⁴, it is likely that the western wall of

¹ Bell. v. 5, 8.

² Page 19.

³ Vol. ii. p. 126.

⁴ εἰς ἀμφοτέρας [the western and northern] εἶχε καταβάσεις.—

Antonia was flush with that of the Temple platform ; and, if so, Josephus, in speaking of this sloping base, can refer only to the three other sides of Antonia. However, the western wall of the Haram has never been thoroughly examined, and much may still be brought to light.

“Next, before reaching the structure of the *tower* was a wall of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and a little within this¹ the whole area of Antonia rose for 60 feet.” By looking again at the views of Phasaelus in Bartlett and Traill’s Josephus, the reader will see a similar low wall, a few feet only from the wall of the tower. And the fact that this feature attributed to Antonia should be found in the only undoubted remnant, at the present day, of the architecture of Herod, leads us to rely with some confidence on the accuracy of Josephus in the other details. Robinson remarks, that, while Antonia is called by Josephus an acropolis or garrison (*Φρούριον*), it is never called a tower, so that Robinson understood the historian, in speaking of “the structure of the tower” in this place, to refer only to the principal tower, which occupied the site of the Bireh or castle, translated in Nehemiah, “the palace which appertained to the house of the Lord,”² and called by the Maccabees the Baris, the Greek form of the Hebrew Bireh. If we could adopt this view it would afford a singular confirmation of our hypothesis, that the Tower of Antonia stood on the Sukrah. In that case, the statement that “the area of Antonia rose for 60 feet,” could not mean 60 feet in height, as the *main tower* was 105 feet high, and the other three 75 feet high ; but the words must be inter-

Bell. v. 5, 8. τῆς βορείου καὶ κατὰ δύσιν στοᾶς τὸ συνεχές πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν. — *Bell.* vi. 2, 9.

¹ ἐνδοτέρῳ δὲ τούτου. — *Bell.* v. 5, 8.

² Neh. ii. 8.

preted, "the area of Antonia rose to the extent of 60 feet," i. e. in length and breadth; and the dimensions of the Sukrah are just about this, viz. 60 feet from north to south, and 55 feet from east to west.¹ However, after carefully weighing the whole paragraph, we are driven to the conclusion that Josephus, by the tower, means the whole fortress, for he immediately proceeds: "But the interior has the space and arrangement of a palace, for it was distributed into apartments of every form and use, both cloisters, and baths, and spacious barracks for soldiers; so that in having every convenience it resembled a city, and in magnificence a palace." And how could all this be compressed into a single tower? The language evidently points to the whole compass of the fortress, which is here *likened* to a palace, and *was* in fact as extensive as the palace in the Upper Town.²

But "Antonia," continues Josephus, "being *tower-like* in its form as a whole, was distinguished at the corners by four *other* towers, of which the rest were 75 feet high, but the one at the south-east corner was 105 feet high, so as to command from it a view of the whole Temple." Here the expression *tower-like*, as applied to the entire fortress, explains and justifies the designation of it a little before as a "tower." Besides, he speaks here of four *other* towers, and as no one ever imagined that there was a fifth tower, we can only understand these four *other* towers to be opposed to the entire fortress, which was not only tower-like, but had been previously described as a tower.

Unfortunately no remains of Antonia, except perhaps the foundations of the western wall, now exist; but if any reliance can be placed on the accounts of Josephus,

¹ Barclay, 497.

² Bell. i. 21, 1.

we can determine the position of Antonia with some accuracy. It stood a little to the north of the Temple, more on the west than on the east side, and was connected with the Temple by two parallel colonnades; and the great south-east corner tower, the old Baris of the Maccabees, frowned on the isolated rock, now called the Sukrah. The chamber under the Sukrah has not been explored, but time may prove it to be connected, either at the side or down the closed orifice in the floor, with the subterranean passage known to the Maccabees, and restored by Herod, leading from Antonia to the Temple.¹

V. OF THE ACROPOLIS, OR TEMPLE PLATFORM.

This area (now the Haram, 1520 feet long and 932 feet broad) comprised, of old, on the western side: 1. The Temple on the south; 2. Antonia, on the north of the Temple; and 3. The site of the Acra, the Macedonian keep, on the north of Antonia. On the eastern side of the Acropolis, between the city wall on the east, and the Temple and Antonia and the site of the Acra on the west, was a tract called "the Cedron ravine," an appropriate designation from its position upon the slope toward the Cedron Valley. As the passages of Josephus relating to this space have not hitherto received sufficient attention, we shall give them in detail.

We may remark *in limine*, that, when Josephus refers to the great Valley of Jehoshaphat, he calls it simply "Cedron."² But, when he refers to this intermural strip of ground, he invariably designates it, by way of contradistinction, as the "*so-called* Cedron ravine."

¹ Ant. xiii. 11, 2; xv. 11, 7.

² Ant. viii. 1, 5; ix. 7, 3. Bell. v. 2, 3; v. 7, 3; v. 12, 2.

When the factions of Simon and John were beleaguered in Jerusalem by Titus, Josephus tells us how the *city* was divided between them, viz. that Simon held the High Town, and Acra, or the Low Town; and that John held the Temple “and the parts about it to no small extent, both Ophla and the so-called Cedron ravine.¹ Ophla and the so-called Cedron ravine therefore were within the city, and contiguous to the Temple. We know where Ophla was, as the old wall running up from the south joined the eastern cloister of the Temple at the place called Ophla, at the south-east of the Temple²; and the so-called Cedron ravine, which was also next the Temple, could only lie where we should, from its name, locate it, viz. on the east of the Temple, between it and the outer wall, and so sloping down toward the Valley of Cedron.

Again, Josephus describes the wall of Agrippa as running along the north of the city toward the east, and then turning at a corner tower to the south, and ending by a junction with the old ambit at the “so-called Cedron ravine.”³ Here Josephus cannot mean that the wall ended at the Valley of Cedron or Jehoshaphat, for the wall had been running along it all the way from the tower at the north-east corner; but he says it ended at the “*so-called* Cedron ravine,” which can only be the intermural space shut in between the Temple and the old wall, the outer peribolus of the Temple platform.

Again, the north-east wall of the Temple is said to

¹ τότε ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ περίξ ἐπ’ οὐκ ὀλίγον, τόντε Ὀφλᾶν καὶ τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα. — *Bell.* v. 6, 1.

² *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

³ τῷ δὲ ἀρχαίῳ περιβόλῳ συνάπτον, εἰς τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα κατέληγεν. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

overlook, not the Valley of Cedron, which it did not, but “the *so-called* Cedron ravine.”¹ Had the wall of the Temple overhung the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and been the outer bulwark against an enemy, it would have been strengthened by towers, and not merely decorated with an ornamental cloister, such as that called Solomon’s Porch. Besides, the ridge on which the Temple stood is 1000 feet broad in this part; and as the Temple certainly overlooked the valley on the west, and reached only 600 feet in any direction, it could not have touched the Valley of Jehoshaphat on the east.

It is evident from these citations, that by the so-called Cedron ravine Josephus means a different thing from the Valley of Cedron, though the two have been commonly confounded.

The topography of the Acropolis in the later days of the Jewish state may be further elucidated by the following passages from Josephus:—

1. On the death of Herod the Great, and during the absence of Archelaus at Rome, an outbreak occurred at Jerusalem against the Romans, then commanded by Sabinus. One legion only was present, and this was quartered partly in Herod’s palace, which overawed the High Town, and partly in Antonia, the citadel of the Low Town. The Jewish insurgents, in three bodies, laid siege to the Romans in both strongholds. One division of the Jews watched the north and east sides of “the Temple,” and the second took up its position at the Hippodrome, on the south of the Temple²,

¹ ἡ συνάπτουσα γωνία τῆς Κεδρῶνος καλουμένης φάραγγος ὑπερδεδόμητο. — *Bell.* vi. 3, 2.

² καὶ τρία μέρη νεμηθέντες ἐπὶ τοιῶνδε στρατοπεδεύονται χωρίων· οἱ μὲν τὸν Ἰππόδρομον ἀπολαβόντες καὶ τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δύο μερῶν οἱ

while on the west the Romans in Antonia were sufficiently blockaded by the streets of the city. The third division of the insurgents encamped to the west of Herod's Palace, which was situate in the High Town.

Sabinus, a mean-spirited tyrant, posted himself in Phasaelus, the strongest of the three famous towers of the Palace, and not daring to put himself at the head of his own troops, waved a flag¹ from the top of Phasaelus as a signal to the legionaries in Antonia to make a sally into the Temple.² This they did, and drove the insurgents before them, until a body of the latter went round and mounted the cloisters, and so assailed the Romans from vantage ground. It was no time for scruples, and the Romans at once set fire to the cloisters, and not a man upon the roof escaped. Nay, the Romans, taking advantage of the confusion, forced their way into the inner Temple and sacked the Treasury. Upon this account we may observe — 1. That when Josephus speaks of the Jews as occupying the north and east sides of the "Temple," he evidently means the Temple inclusive of Antonia, which had been united to it by Herod. 2. It is not to be supposed that the Jews were encamped on the north beyond the pool called now Bethesda, or on the east beyond the present wall of the Haram; and we must conclude, therefore, that the Jews were within the platform and besieging Antonia (which stood on the west of the platform) on the north and east sides. 3. The Hippodrome or Prison, which is here described as standing to the south of the Temple,

μὲν τῷ βορείῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς μεσημερίαν τετραμμένοι τὴν ἐφ' ἂν μοῖραν εἶχον, μοῖρα δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ τρίτη τὰ πρὸς δυόμενον ἥλιον ἔνθα καὶ τὸ βασιλείον ἦν. — *Ant.* xvii. 10, 2. *Bell.* ii. 3, 1.

¹ κατέσειε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. — *Ant.* xvii. 10, 2.

² εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν. — *Bell.* ii. 3, 2.

was no doubt identical with, or at least occupied the site of the court of the prison formerly attached to the palace of the kings of Judah, situate on the south of the Temple.

2. When the Jewish war broke out the factions set fire to Antonia¹, and on the approach of Cestius abandoned Bezetha or the New Town, and also the Low Town, and retired into the Inner city or High Town, and the Temple.² Cestius then encamped on the north of Herod's Palace, the stronghold of the High Town³, and subsequently made an assault upon the north of the Temple in the Low Town⁴, and attempted, but in vain, to fire the northern gate of the Temple (the only one on that side, and called in Middoth Tedi).⁵ Had the Jews defended the walls of the Temple platform, Cestius could not have approached the northern gate of the Temple; but the Jews, wishing to narrow their defences, had confined themselves simply on the west to the High Town, and on the east to the Temple. Here also the word Temple appears to include Antonia. Between Antonia and the north wall of the platform was an open space, the site of the Macedonian Acra, and therefore, whether Antonia was occupied or not by the Jews, Cestius had access along this intervening space to the northern gate of the Temple proper, which lay to the east of Antonia, and was not covered by it.

3. When Titus besieged Jerusalem, he first took Agrippa's wall, which gave him possession of Bezetha. He then encamped within Agrippa's wall, but out of

¹ τὸ φρούριον ἐνέπρησαν. — *Bell.* ii. 17, 7; v. 4, 4.

² εἰς τὴν ἐνδοτέραν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεχώρουν. — *Bell.* ii. 19, 4.

³ ἀντικρὺ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς. — *Bell.* ii. 19, 4.

⁴ κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον ἐπιχειρεῖ κλίμα τῷ ἱερῷ. — *Bell.* ii. 19, 5.

⁵ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν πύλην. — *Bell.* ii. 19, 5.

reach of missiles from the first wall, on the spot called the Camp of the Assyrians, and therefore at the north-west of the city.¹ He shortly afterwards captured the second wall, and threw down the northern limb of it; but posted guards along the western limb to secure his troops from annoyance in their intended operations, on the west of the second wall, against the High Town.²

Titus was now in possession of the inner Low Town; and there remained only the High Town and the Temple platform, and Acra or the outer Low Town below the Temple on the south. The platform was protected on the west, first by the Temple wall for the length of a stadium from the southern end, then by the wall of Antonia for another stadium, and then by the wall which continued the wall of Antonia up to the north wall, the site of the old Acra, where the wall turned east along the Pool of Bethesda.

Herod had not been in possession of the inner Low Town, and had therefore been obliged to commence operations on the north of the Temple, first against the outer wall of the plateau, and then against the wall of the Temple itself. But Titus was in possession of the inner Low Town, and, as this could not be held with safety so long as Antonia was in the hands of the enemy³, he determined to assault Antonia itself, which of course he could only do on the western side, where the wall of the platform was also the wall of Antonia. Had Titus attacked the northern wall of the platform, as both Pompey and Herod had done, Josephus would no doubt have mentioned it, as both in the "Wars" and in the "Antiquities" he takes care to notice that Herod de-

¹ Bell. v. 7, 3.

² Bell. v. 8, 2.

³ τούτου γὰρ μὴ ληφθέντος οὐδὲ τὸ ἀστὺ ἀκίνδυνον ἦν.—Bell. v. 9, 2.

livered the assault where Pompey had led the way. Had the fosse of Bethesda been the scene of Titus's operations we should have heard something of a work of such magnitude, whereas Josephus on this occasion makes not the slightest allusion to it. The circumstance, also, that the faction of John fought from higher ground against the legions¹, agrees with the western side of Antonia, but not with the northern. How, again, could John, at the north-west corner of the Haram, where it is solid rock, have run the mines which he did under the enemy's works? Besides, Titus, after capturing the third wall, had already made an attempt on the Temple platform from the north, and found the fortifications too strong for him; and one main reason for mastering the second wall was that he might then assault Antonia within the lines of the second wall on the west of Antonia.

The side of the citadel towards the city was 600 feet long, and therefore the curtain between the north and south towers was proportionably weak. Against this part therefore two mounds were cast up, one about the middle of the Pool Struthion, and the other at 30 feet distance.² The Pool Struthion lay at the foot of the wall of Antonia, near the baths now known as Hammâm es Shefa. There are still two pools in this quarter, recently discovered. One, called the Mekhimeh Pool, is under the western wall of the Haram, commencing from the causeway of Temple Street and running 84 feet along the wall of the Haram, and is 42 feet wide;

¹ ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρων μαχόμενοι. — *Bell.* v. 9, 2.

² καὶ θάτερον μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου τάγματος ἐβλήθη κατὰ μέσον τῆς Στρουθίου καλουμένης κολυμβήθρας· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ δωδεκάτου διαστῶτος ὅσον εἰς πήχεις εἴκοσι.—*Bell.* v. 11, 4.

and "there is also quite a large pool of water kept well filled between the Mekhimeh Pool and Hammâm es Shefa, quite near the latter."¹ Struthion in Greek signifies "Soapwort," the *Herba lanaria* of the Latins, used for cleansing wool²; and the Struthion, or Soapwort Pool, was no doubt so called from the ablutions in connection with the adjoining baths, which still exist.³

The two mounds cast up by Titus against Antonia were completed in seventeen days, but they were undermined from Antonia by the Jews, and destroyed shortly after.⁴

Titus now commenced the wall of circumvallation, so fatal in its consequences to the besieged. It began at the Assyrian camp, at the north-west corner of the city, and was carried through the Lower New Town eastward to Cedron; crossed the valley to the Mount of Olives; turned south to the Peristereon⁵ or Columbarium, the honey-combed rock opposite the south-east corner of the Temple; traversed the Mount of Offence, descended into the Valley of Hinnom, and mounted the Hill of Evil Council; then deflected northward to the tomb of Herod, by the Dragon or Serpent Pool, now Mamilla; and then joined itself eastward to the Assyrian camp, whence it began. The whole circuit was five miles wanting only one furlong⁶; and the reason for carrying out the wall so far from the city was to prevent the escape of the Jews by their numerous subterranean passages, which reached to great distances.⁷

¹ Barclay, 538. Tobler's Denk. 71.

² Plin. N. H. xix. 18. Holy City, ii. 497, 2nd ed.

³ Barclay (p. 322) calls it the Sparrow Pool, as if the name were derived from στροῦθος, a sparrow. This is clearly an oversight.

⁴ Bell. v. 11, 4.

⁵ From περίστερα.

⁶ Bell. v. 12, 2.

⁷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἴσχυον, ὀρωρυγμένους τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς

The Romans then threw up four fresh mounds against the same side of Antonia as before, viz. the west¹, and the Jews could not prevent this, though they attempted a sally, and in twenty-one days the mounds were finished², and the battering rams applied. They produced no effect apparently; but at night, partly from the shake given by the engines, and partly from the foundations having been loosened by the mine of the Jews, the western wall of Antonia fell to the ground.³

However, the Jews had provided against such a contingency, and had run up another wall behind, but of inferior strength. The courage of the Romans is said to have been damped by the sight of the second wall, and that of the Jews to have been sustained by the reflection "that Antonia still remained," viz. from the barrier opposed by the new wall.⁴

A few days after this the newly erected second wall was scaled by a surprise at night, when the Jews in a panic rushed from Antonia into the Temple, and the Romans from the west forced their way into Antonia through the mine which had been driven by the Jews under the wall⁵; and the Romans even rushed pellmell with the Jews into the Temple itself, to the south, but were again forced back, and shut up in Antonia.⁶

ἐνδοθεν ὑπὸ τὰ τείχη μέχρι πόρρω τῆς χώρας εἶχον, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν διεξίοντες, etc. — *Dion*, lxvi. 4. *Bell*. i. 18, 2.

¹ *Bell*. v. 12, 4.

² *Bell*. vi. 1, 1.

³ *Bell*. vi. 1, 3.

⁴ θαρρύνειν ὡς μενούσης συνέβαινε τῆς Ἀντωνίας. — *Bell*. vi. 1, 4.

⁵ Robinson writes that "many of the Jews, in fleeing away to the Temple, fell into a mine that had been dug by the tyrant John." (*Rob*. iii. 232.) This, it is conceived, is a misapprehension of the passage. καταφευγόντων δ' Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τῆς διώρυχος εἰσέπιπτον ἣν ὁ Ἰωάννης ὑπὸ τὰ χῶματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπόρυξε. — *Bell*. vi. 1, 7.

⁶ *Bell*. vi. 1, 7.

The area of Antonia was now levelled by the Romans, with the exception of the south-east tower, which, being the highest and overlooking the Temple, was occupied by Titus personally, to superintend the operations below.¹

It was not until after seven days' labour that the legions reached the wall of the Temple, which shows that no little space intervened between Antonia and the Temple. We have seen that the two were connected together by cloisters running between them, and called the limbs of the Temple.

The Romans now cast up four mounds against the Temple, two within Antonia, and two without it. Of those within, one, the most western, was over against the north-western corner of the inner Temple; and the other, the eastern, was over against the ἐξέδρα, or alcove, between the two gates of the inner Temple. Of those without Antonia, one was against the western cloister of the Temple, and the other against the northern cloister.²

As to the mound within Antonia, against the north-west corner of the inner Temple, the western cloisters of the Temple were 45 feet wide, and if we allow the same space, or somewhat more, for the interval between the cloisters and the inner Temple, the distance of this mound eastward from the western side of the outer wall would be about 100 feet. As to the other mound within Antonia, over against the alcove, "between the

¹ Bell. vi. 2, 1.

² πλησιάσαντα δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ περιβόλῳ τὰ τάγματα κατήρχετο χωμάτων· τὸ μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς τοῦ εἰσω ἱεροῦ γωνίας ἣτις ἦν κατ' ἄρκτον καὶ δύσιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν βόρειον ἐξέδραν ἢ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο πυλῶν ἦν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δύο, θάτερον μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέριον στοάν τοῦ ἐξωθεν ἱεροῦ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἔξω κατὰ τὴν βόρειον. — Bell. vi. 2, 7.

two gates," the inner Temple had four gates on the north : three leading up to the court of the priests, containing the altar and Temple edifice, and one up to the court of the women ; and though we are not informed by Josephus between which two gates this alcove was situate, we may infer that it was *not* between the gate into the court of the women, and the next gate on the west, as a wall intervened to prevent any alcove. Nor was it between the two most westerly gates, as this would bring the two mounds *within* Antonia too close together ; and we should therefore place the alcove in question between the two central gates of the four ; and this view is confirmed by the circumstance, that the western side of the inner Temple had only one alcove, which was no doubt in the middle¹ ; and we may presume, therefore, that the northern side had also but one alcove, and that it was also in the middle, between the two central gates.

As the Romans made daily attacks upon the Temple, along the colonnades or cloisters that connected the Temple with Antonia, the Jews now set fire to the cloister which ran from the north-west corner of the Temple, and thus cut off the communication by this passage between the Temple and Antonia ; and two days after the Romans set fire to the eastern cloister, which led from the Temple to Antonia ; and thereupon the Jews, that the cloisters of the Temple itself might not be burnt, cut away the eastern cloister which joined Antonia to the Temple, and so severed the Temple altogether from Antonia.² The Temple now stood alone, a simple square, as it had originally been ; and thus, says Josephus, was fulfilled the old prophecy, that

¹ Bell. vi. 4, 1.

² Bell. vi. 2, 9.

when the Temple should be made a square, the city and sanctuary should be destroyed.¹

The Jews next enticed the Romans upon the western cloister of the Temple, and then themselves set fire to it, and the whole was consumed as far as to the tower which John had erected at the south-west corner, over the gates leading from the Temple by the bridge to the Xyst.²

The next day the Romans, in revenge, burnt the whole of the northern cloister of the outer Temple, "as far as the eastern cloisters, where the two cloisters meet in an angle over the so-called Cedron ravine, and the depth is fearful."³ This passage has produced much confusion with many, who take the expression, the "so-called Cedron ravine," to mean the Valley of Cedron; but we have already explained that by the "so-called Cedron ravine" Josephus means here, as elsewhere, the slope from the Temple wall to the outer wall of the Temple platform.

The western and northern cloisters having been burnt, the bare walls in those parts, as no longer defensible, were abandoned by the Jews, and accordingly we hear no more of them; but the Jews now confined

¹ ἀλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἱερόν γένηται τετράγωνον. — *Bell.* vi. 5, 4. This passage has been the subject of various explanations, according to the different views of the numerous writers upon the subject; but surely the simple solution offered is the correct one.

² κατεκάη δὲ ἡ στοὰ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰωάννου πύργου ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Σίμωνά πολέμῳ κατεσκεύασεν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐξαγούσας ὑπὲρ τὸν Ξυστὸν πύλας. — *Bell.* vi. 3, 2.

³ τῇδε ὑστεραία καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν βόρειον στοὰν ἐνέπρησαν μέχρι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ὀλῆν, ὧν ἡ συνάπτουσα γωνία τῆς Κεδρῶνος καλουμένης φάραγος ὑπερδεδόμητο, παρ' ὃ καὶ φοβερὸν ἦν τὸ βάθος. — *Bell.* vi. 3, 2.

themselves to the inner Temple, which, standing on a terrace of considerable elevation, and having thick walls beside, was an exceedingly strong fortress. However, the Romans completed the two mounds without Antonia, — one on the western and the other on the northern side; and then on the west applied the battering ram, and on the north commenced undermining the northern gate.¹ By the northern gate must here be meant a northern gate of the *inner Temple*, for the Romans now scaled the cloister²; which could only be the cloister of the *inner Temple*, as the northern cloister of the *outer Temple* had been previously burnt³; and of the four northern gates of the inner Temple, the one in question could only have been the most eastern, leading up to the court of the women, for the mound cast up *within* Antonia was over against the ἐξέδρα, which was between the two central gates; and the mound without Antonia was of course more to the east, and must, therefore, have been against the most easterly of the four gates.

The Romans now fired the cloisters of the inner Temple, and, after some attempt to extinguish the flames on the part of the Romans themselves, the whole fabric of the Temple was reduced to ashes.⁴ The Roman standards were now carried in triumph into the Temple, and sacrifices performed to them, and Titus himself was saluted by the title of “Imperator.”⁵ And thus “the abomination of desolation,” spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, stood in the Holy Place.⁶

Titus, being thus in possession of the Temple, held a parley with the Jews of the High Town, across the

¹ τῆς βορείου πύλης. — Bell. vi. 4, 1.

² Bell. vi. 4, 1.

³ Bell. vi. 3, 2.

⁴ Bell. vi. 4, 2.

⁵ Bell. vi. 6, 1.

⁶ Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14.

bridge leading from the south-west corner of the Temple to the Xyst, just below the palace of Agrippa, which stood on the eastern brink of the High Town, or Pseudo-Sion, but without effect.¹

The Low Town, Acra, or Ophel, below the Temple, as well as the High Town, was still in the hands of the factions, and they now plundered the palace of Helena, queen of Adiabene, in revenge for her descendants having gone over to the Romans.²

The royal palace here referred to, and belonging to the princes of Adiabene³, was quite distinct both from the palace of Herod and the palace of the Asmoneans; the one at the north-west, and the other at the north-east, corner of the Upper City.

The Romans next expelled the factions from Ophel, here called by Josephus the Low Town⁴, and then cast up mounds against the High Town; one on the west, opposite Herod's palace, and the other on the east, in the Xyst, viz. at the bridge leading from the Temple, and at the tower erected by Simon.⁵

The mounds were soon completed, when the High Town was carried by assault, and the whole of Jerusalem, with the exception of the citadel composed of three towers, Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, and the barracks contiguous, along the western wall of the palace, was razed to the ground.

¹ ἴσταται κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν μέρος τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ· ταύτῃ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν ξυστὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, καὶ γέφυρα συνάπτουσα τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν. — *Bell.* vi. 6, 2.

² ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ὁρμήσαντες αὐλήν. — *Bell.* vi. 7, 1.

³ *Bell.* iv. 9, 11.

⁴ ἐκ τῆς κάτω πόλεως. — *Bell.* vi. 7, 2.

⁵ κατὰ τὸν ξυστὸν ἐξ οὗ καὶ [qu. lege κατὰ] τὴν γέφυραν καὶ τὸν Σίμωνος πύργον ὃν ὤκοδόμησε πρὸς Ἰωάννην πολεμῶν ἑαυτῷ φρούριον. — *Bell.* vi. 8, 1.

CHAP. V.

PRESENT STATE OF THE TEMPLE MOUNT.

THE Haram es Sherîf measures, according to Catherwood, 1520 feet on the east side, 1020 feet on the north, 1617 feet on the west, and 932 feet on the south.¹ As these dimensions are entirely different from those of the Temple as described either by Josephus or the Mishma, the question is, Where did the Temple stand? Did it occupy the whole area; or did it cover only a part; and if so, what part?

First. Some, as Catherwood, suppose that the *whole* Haram, as it now appears, represents the area of the ancient Temple. But the measurements of the platform, as given by Catherwood himself, are so at variance with the accounts of Josephus and the Middoth, that the hypothesis will not bear a moment's consideration. According to Josephus, the sides of the Temple were only 600 feet each; and the Middoth, which exaggerates the dimensions to accommodate them to the visionary temple of Ezekiel, makes them only 500 cubits, or 750 feet each; and both Josephus and the Middoth agree in saying that the Temple was a perfect square, with all its sides equal, whereas the Haram is half as long again as it is broad. The advocates of this theory

¹ See the different measurements collated, Barclay, 485.

have been chiefly influenced by the fact, that the ancient masonry all round the Haram is bevelled, and of a uniform character ; but this only serves to confirm what we have before advanced, viz. that contemporaneously with the building of the Temple an outer wall or peribolus was constructed for its defence.

Secondly. Dr. Robinson's idea is that the Temple occupied a *square* of the breadth of the present area, but at the southern end of it, and that the rectangular space remaining at the north is an accretion, by taking in the space of Fort Antonia, which reached all across the Haram, and was defended on the north by the fosse now called Bethesda.

This theory is open to the following objections :—

1. According to Robinson, the Temple would thus be a square of about 932 feet ; but Josephus states again and again, both directly and indirectly, that the Temple was a square of only 600 feet. Had his account been an exaggeration we might have questioned his veracity ; but, as his measurement in this instance is a depreciation, we cannot suspect it.

As regards the Middoth, which gives the length of each side of the square as 500 cubits, it is suggested by Robinson that the cubits meant are *not* of the ordinary kind, i. e. of five handbreadths of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches each, but of six hand-breadths.¹ Now it is much disputed whether the Jews had two different cubits ; and, if they had, it is further insisted by some, that the *smaller* one was *only* 15 inches, and that they adopted the larger one of 18 inches to accommodate their measurements to the usage of the nations about them, who all adopted the 18-inch cubit.² But admitting that the ordinary cubit was

¹ Rob. i. 291.

² Fergusson, 18.

about 18 inches, and the larger cubit $\frac{1}{2}$ more, or 21 inches, this would not make the 500 cubits of the Middoth equal to the 932 feet, though it would yield 875 feet. But in fact the Middoth does not use a different cubit from Josephus, but the same. How otherwise can it be explained that Josephus and the Middoth agree in all their principal measurements, with the exception of the outer ambit of the Temple? Both, for instance, say that the Chel was 10 cubits broad, the front of the Temple 100, the *ναὸς* 40, the adytum 20, and so on.¹ The reason why the Middoth differs as to the general circuit of the Temple is, that the author of it was strongly imbued with a priestly feeling; and as Ezekiel, but in a vision only, speaks of the sides of the Temple as of 500 cubits, the Middoth, addressing itself to its Jewish votaries, adopts the same mystic measure.² In a discrepancy between the Middoth and Josephus we cannot hesitate to follow the latter, who was personally acquainted with the localities, and wrote when living persons (and he had many enemies) could have refuted his statements.

2. Robinson, in advocating the view that Antonia reached all across the Haram, and therefore covered the whole northern side of the Temple, has displayed his usual ingenuity and learning, but the facts are too strong for him. If Antonia extended along the whole north side of the Temple, how could it be described as situate at the *north-west* corner of the Temple?³ How could Cestius, who had not possession of Antonia, have attacked the *north* side of the Temple, and attempted to

¹ Fergusson, 20.

² Ezek. xlii. 20. See Sept. version.

³ κατὰ γωνίαν μὲν δύο στοῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον. — *Bell.* v. 5, 8.

burn the northern gate? ¹ How could John and his faction have defended themselves against Titus, not only from Antonia, but also from the *northern* cloister? ² How, when Titus reviewed his army at the north of the city, could the *north* of the Temple have been filled with spectators³; or, lastly, how, when Antonia was razed by Titus, could three mounds have been cast up, two within the site of Antonia and one without it, and the latter against the *northern* cloister of the Temple.⁴

3. The foundations of the Temple were, according to Josephus, one solid, unbroken mass, formed by scarping the sides of the rock, and carrying up a wall upon the scarpment, and then levelling the summit by casting the material into the hollows against the walls until the whole became an even surface.⁵ But if the Temple extended on the south to the south-east corner of the Haram, the foundations of the Temple in this part must have been quite different; for, after measuring 600 feet along the southern wall from west to east, we come to the triple gateway, leading into vaults which extend from that point to the south-east angle, and therefore reaching 327 feet west, and running northward under the Haram to various lengths, according to the unevenness of the ground, but in some places as far as 247 feet. Neither could these vaults have supported the superstructure of the Temple, for the southern cloister consisted of 4 rows of columns, 37 feet high, and at least 5 feet in diameter⁶; and the

¹ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα. — *Bell.* ii. 19, 5.

² τῆς προσαρκτίου στοᾶς τοῦ ἱεροῦ. — *Bell.* v. 7, 3.

³ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα. — *Bell.* v. 9, 1.

⁴ τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἔξω κατὰ τὴν βόρειον (στοάν). — *Bell.* vi. 2, 7.

⁵ *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

⁶ *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

columns in the vaults are only 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 2 inches in section, and the arches between them so weak that the olive-trees have struck their roots through them¹; and we have the authority of Mr. Fergusson, a competent judge on a question of architecture, that these substructions would not have been adequate to the pressure of the massive Temple porticoes above.²

4. There is another architectural argument against the theory of Robinson. The southern cloister was of the Corinthian order, and stood in four rows, and Josephus happens to mention the exact number of pillars, viz. 162.³ The odd pair was for carrying the outer wall over the gate at the south-west corner leading to the bridge; and, rejecting these, we have 40 columns in each of the 4 rows. In general, around the cloisters, the columns next the wall were let into the wall; and, if this was so at both ends of the royal colonnade, there would be only 39 intercolumniations; but, as the two odd pillars stood at the gateway at the western end, the next columns to them must have stood free; so that we should thus have just 40 intercolumniations. Now, the length of the southern side of the Haram is 932 feet, which would yield about 23 feet for each intercolumniation, or rather for each epistyle measured from the centres of the columns. Fergusson pronounces that such an intercolumniation was utterly unknown to the architects of the ancient world; that the epistylia, for

¹ Bartlett, 157, with an illustration.

² Fergusson, 10. See his section, *Biblic. Dict. Jerus.* 1020.

³ "In the present Mosque of Omar are twelve massive columns, and sixteen of less dimensions, all of the Corinthian order, and of ancient workmanship. The larger may be some of those of the outer Temple, and the smaller some of those of the inner Temple." — *Bartlett*, 153.

instance, of the Pantheon at Rome, are only 15 feet ; those of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, 17 ; those of the Great Temple at Baalbec, 17 ; those of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus (somewhat apocryphal), under 20. At Baalbec one architrave is nearly 20 ; and one at Palmyra nearly 23 ; but these are over principal entrances or gateways, and intercolumniations of such a length as 23 feet are nowhere found in succession. We should add, that in the above calculation we have not deducted from the length of the southern side the thickness of the walls at each end. However, allowing 24 feet for the two walls (12 feet each), and deducting that from the 932, and dividing the result by 40, we have still more than 22 feet for the intercolumniation, a measure out of all architectural proportion.

5. Another objection, which we shall state very briefly, is this : Josephus, in his account of the old wall of the High Town, mentions that it ran up to the eastern cloister of the Temple.¹ But the south-east angle of the present Haram hangs over a very steep precipice on the east and south, and this, notwithstanding the accumulation of rubbish and debris in that part for a series of ages ; so that, in ancient times, the fall must have been much more rapid.² A wall, therefore, to the south could not have been wanted, and the placing of one there would be neither more nor less than “building castles in the air.”

6. We learn from Josephus that, in the siege by Titus, John, who had possession of the Temple, erected four towers—one at the north-east corner of the

¹ Bell. v. 4. 2.

² Wilson, i. 419. Stewart, Tent and Khan, 322. According to Williams (Holy City, ii. 317), the fall here is 129 feet ; and according to Robinson (i. 232), 150 feet.

Temple, another at the north-west corner, another at the south-west corner, and the remaining one over the Pastophoria.¹ From the way in which reference is made to them, it is probable that these stood exactly at the south-east corner of the Temple; but at all events their situation must have been either there or in immediate proximity. But if the south-east corner of the Temple was identical with the south-east corner of the Haram, no building there would have been practicable.

We may add, in conclusion, that ably as Robinson has advocated his views, they have not commanded the general assent of those who have visited the spot.

Thirdly. We now approach Mr. Williams's theory. Robinson and Williams both insist that the Temple reached east and west all across the present Haram; but they differ in this, that Robinson places the square of the Temple at the south, and adds Antonia at the north to make up the existing rectangle; whereas Williams, on the contrary, places the square of the Temple at the north, and considers the southern portion to be the accretion.

The keystone of Williams's position is that the Sukrah, or holy rock, the centre of the Mosque of Omar, represents the site of the high altar of the Temple, and his argument is, no doubt, entitled to respect. It is only after weighing the proposition carefully in conjunction with the other particulars furnished by Josephus that we find ourselves under the necessity of abandoning so attractive a scheme. The data upon which Williams relies are as follows:—

¹ παστοφóρια. — *Bell.* iv. 9, 12. These Pastophoria were the chambers of the priests, and, accordingly, the chamber of Johanan (Ezra x. 6) is translated by Josephus παστοφóριον (*Ant.* xi. 5, 4).

Within the Haram is an elevated terrace, measuring, according to Catherwood, 550 feet north and south, and 50 east and west, and varying in height; but, according to Barclay, averaging about 10 feet (the height at the north being under 5 and at the south over 10)¹, but, according to Bartlett², averaging as much as 15 or 16 feet. Nearly in the middle of this terrace, but about one third, or 320 feet, nearer to the west than to the east wall of the Haram, stands the Mosque of Omar, and within the mosque is the holy rock, or Sukrah, 60 feet one way by 50 or 55 feet the other, and rising about 5 feet from the floor of the mosque, which itself, in this part, is said to be about 12 feet above the general level of the Haram; so that the height of the Sukrah is in all 17 feet above the ordinary level.³

Now, argues Williams, within the outer Temple was an inner Temple of higher elevation, and within that an inmost Temple, the court of the priests, of higher elevation still. Hence he concludes that the inmost Temple, which contained the sacred edifice, stood upon the present platform which supports the mosque; and the Sukrah, or culminating rock within the mosque, must be the site of the altar. Nay, further, he would confirm this hypothesis by an argument drawn from the Mid-doth, which states incidentally that under the altar was a chamber for cleansing the sewer by which the blood of the victims was drained into the Valley of Cedron; and he points to the singular fact, that under the Sukrah is a chamber, excavated in the rock, 15 feet square and 8 feet high, with an opening at the top, and a corre-

¹ Barclay, 497.

² Bartlett, 152.

³ See the section of the Temple and Platform in Bartlett, 165.

sponding slab of marble in the floor, which rings hollow, and no doubt covers an orifice; and he would therefore have us believe that this Sukrah is the very spot on which stood the altar, and that the sewage of the altar passed through this chamber which is excavated under the Sukrah.

This scheme is *primâ facie* very plausible. Let us examine carefully what weight is due to the argument itself, and what objections lie against it.

First, then, does it follow that, because the Sukrah is the highest point of the Haram, therefore it was the site of the altar? Let us assume for a moment what we shall prove hereafter, that the Temple, described by Josephus as 600 feet square, stood at the south-west corner of the Haram. In that case Fort Antonia would be situate just where we now find the Sukrah. Which then was the higher, the Temple or Fort Antonia? Fortunately Josephus has enabled us to determine this point; for he tells us that from the outer Temple the ascent to the inner Temple was by fourteen steps¹, at the top of which was a wall measuring within 25 cubits, but on the outside, including the steps which were part of it, 40 cubits. The steps, therefore, were 15 cubits, or about a cubit each. Thus far the height of the ground was $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Then followed another flight of five steps², which, taking the steps as before to be about a cubit each, would add $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet, making 30 feet. There was then another flight of twelve steps³, or 18 feet, and making in the whole 48 feet; and that the height could not much have exceeded this, may be inferred from the accidental mention in the "Wars," that the tim-

¹ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα βαθμοῖς. — Bell. v. 5, 2.

² πεντέβαθμοι κλίμακες. — Bell. v. 5, 2.

³ δώδεκα βαθμοῖς. — Bell. v. 5, 3.

bers cut on Mount Lebanon for the repairs of the Temple were of sufficient "length" to reach, at the back of the Temple where were no steps, from the floor of the outer court to the level of the inner Temple.¹ Such was the utmost height of the Temple without the altar, which was not the natural rock, but built of unhewn stones; but even if we add the altar, which was 15 cubits or $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet², we should obtain only $70\frac{1}{2}$ feet. What is the historian's account of Fort Antonia? That the rock upon which it was constructed was 50 cubits or 75 feet high³, so that it was 5 feet higher than the altar, and omitting the altar, as we ought to do, was 27 feet higher. The greater height of the Sukrah, therefore, would rather indicate that it is the site of Antonia, and not of the altar.

But how are we to deal with the startling fact, so strongly insisted on by Williams, that the chamber under the Sukrah is the identical one which was excavated below the altar? If it be so, the description in the Middoth ought to tally with the existing chamber in all particulars; and Williams suggests that such is the case, and especially calls attention to the remarkable fact, that the descent to the chamber under the Sukrah is at the *south-east* corner, the very corner where the Middoth places it. The words of the Middoth (according to the Latin version⁴, which I presume is correct) are that

¹ ἐξαρκοῦν τὸ μῆκος εὐρὼν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθύπερθεν ἱεροῦ μαχομένους. — *Bell.* v. 1 5.

² πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν ὕψος ἦν πηχῶν. — *Bell.* v. 5, 6.

³ *Bell.* v. 5, 8.

⁴ "Cornu autem *inter occidentem et austrum* habebat duo foramina instar duarum narium, per quæ sanguis sparsus, cum super pulvinum sui fundamentum occidentale tum super fundamentum australe, descendebat, et miscebatur uterque sanguis in canali ac effluebat in torrentem Kedron. Inferius in pavimento *ad idem*

the descent to the chamber was not at the *south-east* corner, but at the *south-west* corner; not to mention that the entrance to the altar chamber is described as an opening of a cubit square, which does not at all correspond to the present staircase down to the cave under the Sukrah. The circumstance, therefore, so much relied upon to establish the identity of the two chambers shows plainly that they are different.

What really was the use of the excavation under the Sukrah must be matter of conjecture. The sides of the chamber are whitewashed, but the northern side, on being struck, indicates a cavity in that direction, so that further discovery is needed.¹ Most of the great towers in Jerusalem appear to have had a subterranean escape, for when, at the siege by Titus, the company which had charge of the middle tower in the north wall were obliged to abandon it, they made their exit by an under-ground passage², and similar means of retreat may have been provided for Antonia. We know, in fact, that a subterranean gallery did lead from Antonia to the Temple, for Antigonus was slain by his brother Aristobulus in such a passage from the Temple to the castle, called then Baris, afterwards Antonia³, and this under-ground passage was probably under one of the towers of the Baris or Antonia, for the place where Antigonus was slain was named "Straton's Tower." We read also that when Herod restored and enlarged the Baris by the name of Antonia,

cornu erat locus quadratus unius cubiti, ubi tabulæ marmoreæ annulus infixus erat, qua descendebant in foveam seu camerinam, eamque purgabant."—P. 356.

¹ Barclay, 498.

² Bell. v. 7, 4.

³ διέστησε [Aristobulus] τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ἐν τινὶ τῶν ὑπογείων ἀφωτίστῳ· κατέκειτο δὲ ἐν τῇ βάρει μετονομασθείσῃ δὲ Ἀντωνία. — *Ant.* xiii. 2.

he also repaired a subterranean communication from Antonia to the tower over the eastern gate of the inner Temple ; and if, as we have supposed, the Temple stood at the south-west corner of the Haram, the Sukrah would be in a line with the eastern gate of the Temple. The opening in the floor of the chamber of the Sukrah may be thought of narrow dimensions for an entrance to an under-ground gallery, but we have seen from the Middoth, that the mouth of the descent into the chamber under the altar was only one cubit in diameter, which, supposing even the greater cubit to be used, would not exceed 21 inches ; but, if the closed orifice in the floor of the chamber be equal to that in the ceiling, the diameter would be 3 feet, which would allow ample room. The whole neighbourhood, indeed, of the Temple was honeycombed with these secret underground avenues ; and it is a threadbare tale how Simon, who was in the *upper city* at the capture by Titus, made his way through subterranean passages into the Temple, and there having dressed himself in white robes, suddenly rose from the ground like an apparition amongst the affrighted soldiery.¹

Another solution of the excavation under the Sukrah, and perhaps the most probable, is that this shaft sunk in the floor of the chamber, and called Bîr Arruah, or Well of Souls, was neither more nor less than a well of water for supplying Antonia. Beneath the Temple proper were spacious cisterns with draw-wells above ; and it cannot be supposed that the citadel which commanded the Temple would be left destitute of one of the chief necessities of life. The orifice in the roof of the chamber is about a yard in diameter, and corresponds to the one below², as if for

¹ Bell. vii. 2, 2.

² Barclay, 497.

the passage of a bucket. And just without the Haram, in a line due west, is now a well of great depth, the Hammâm es Shefa, also containing an under-ground chamber in connection with it.¹

We now proceed to the consideration of certain objections which lie against Mr. Williams's theory. In the first place, by locating the altar at the Sukrah he is obliged, for the purpose of making the Temple a square, as required both by Josephus and the Middoth, to insist that the vast stones and substructions at the south-east corner of the Haram, and the solid mass of masonry with the gigantic bridge at the south-west corner, never belonged to the Temple, but were added in the time of Justinian. Admitting that the substructions at the south-east corner were of a later age, who can believe that the huge bevelled stones and fragment of a bridge at the south-west corner were so, the very remains to which all travellers have pointed as the undoubted relics of at least the Herodian era? In support of his proposition, that the south-west corner was no part of the ancient Temple, but the addition of after ages, he reiterates the extraordinary mistake made by an English engineer in his survey of Jerusalem in 1841, that in the southern part of the western wall of the Haram are two re-entering angles, thus breaking twice the straight line of the western wall; an error into which the engineer was probably led by the site of the Sheikh's house, and other buildings which stand in that quarter, partly within the wall of the Haram itself. There can be no doubt, however, from subsequent observations, that the west wall is one continuous line, without a break from north to south; and, if so, the whole fabric ingeniously

¹ Barclay, 528.

erected upon the engineer's hallucination falls to the ground.¹

Again, if the Temple square was the northern part of the Haram, and the altar was where Mr. Williams would place it, viz. on the Sukrah, the inner Temple (on the supposition that the southern part was an accretion subsequently), instead of standing, as Josephus says, near the middle, or as the Middoth affirms, nearer to the north than the south, would be situate so close to the southern wall as to leave no room for the royal cloisters, which were 105 feet wide.

Again, it is part of Mr. Williams's theory that γέφυρα, the word used by Josephus, should be translated a causeway, and not a bridge, and that the causeway referred to by him as communicating between the Temple and the High Town is the causeway now leading from the Haram to Temple Street. But, according to Robinson, this causeway could never have led to the High Town, but must have run to the north of it; and this must be so, for the street which leads from the Jaffa gate eastward along the foot of the High Town passes over the causeway to the Haram.² However, assuming that this causeway did touch (and it could only have touched) the northern brow of the High Town, what is the consequence? As the bridge was at the south-west corner of the Temple, and the causeway is not due east and west, but in its course from the Haram dips to the south, the whole of the Temple must have stood opposite the inner Low Town, and not have been covered by any part of the High Town; instead of which, there is the strongest evidence that the Temple fronted the High Town; for the bridge, according to Josephus,

¹ Rob. iii. 177, 186. Fergusson's Notes on Holy Sepulchre, p. 19.

² Rob. i. 267; iii. 187.

conducted to the Xyst, and thence to the *upper city*; and upon the edge of the High Town was the Palace of Agrippa¹, overlooking the Xyst.² And we read that when Agrippa raised the roof of his palace, and so commanded a full view of the Temple and the proceedings in it, the Jews (as it was contrary to law that any one should watch the religious services, and especially the sacrifices³) built a counter wall or screen upon the ἐξέδρα, or alcove, of the western wall of the inner Temple⁴, and so shut out the view of the altar from the palace. Thus much, therefore, is clear, that the western wall of the Temple lay in a direct line between the altar and Agrippa's house in the High Town; and as the altar stood before the vestibule of the inner Temple, and was therefore due east, or nearly so, of the centre of the western wall, the altar and the centre of the western wall and Agrippa's palace must have been in about the same line. In other words, the historian assumes the house of Agrippa in the High Town to be opposite the middle of the Temple on Mount Moriah, a location wholly at variance with the site of the altar as proposed by Mr. Williams.

As regards the theories both of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Williams, we may remark that neither of their theories can stand if we can prove an *alibi*; that is, if

¹ That the Palace of Agrippa was in the High Town is clear from Bell. ii. 17, 6.

² αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἐπάνω τοῦ ξυστοῦ πρὸς τὸ πέραν τῆς ἄνω πόλεως, καὶ γέφυρα τῷ ξυστῷ τὸ ἱερὸν συνῆπτεν. — Bell. ii. 16, 3. ἴσταται [Titus] κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν μέρος τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ, ταύτη γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν ξυστὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, καὶ γέφυρα συνάπτουσα τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν. — Bell. vi. 6, 2; and see Bell. vi. 8, 1; i. 7, 2; vi. 3, 2; v. 4, 2; vi. 6, 3; iv. 9, 12. Ant. xiv. 4, 2; xv. 11, 5.

³ τὰς ἱερουργίας. — Ant. xx. 8, 11.

⁴ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξέδρας ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔσωθεν ἱερῷ τετραμμένη πρὸς δύσιν. — Ant. xx. 8, 11.

we can show affirmatively that the real site of the Temple was on a spot different from that advocated by either of them. We now, therefore, enter upon the question, where the Temple is really to be placed, and, after a careful examination of all the passages in Josephus that have any bearing upon the subject, we say with some confidence that the Temple stood at the south-west corner of the Haram. We shall first adduce the arguments upon which we rest the hypothesis, and we shall then answer some objections which may be thought to militate against it.

1. In the first place, the Temple is described both by Josephus¹ and the Middoth as being a square, and therefore rectangular. But the only angle of the Haram which is a right angle is the south-western², and, if so, at that corner only could the Temple have stood. Fergusson remarks that, "in all the temples of Palmyra, Baalbec, Athens, &c., of about this age, the temenoi [meaning, I presume, *temenē*], or inclosures, are, without exception, exactly rectangular."³ But further, if we measure 600 feet eastward from the south-west corner we come to the Triple gate, leading into the substructions; and here again the angle formed by the south wall of the Haram and the wall running north from the Triple gate, being, as we contend, the eastern wall of the Temple, is also a right angle.

2. Another feature of the Temple is that noticed a little before, viz. that a screen raised upon the western wall of the inner Temple excluded the view of the altar from the Palace of Agrippa; and if we identify the south-west corner of the Haram with the site of the

¹ Bell. vi. 5, 4.

² Fergusson, 6. But see Rob. iii. 164; Barclay, 484.

³ Fergusson, 6.

Temple this would be the case, for, as the Palace of Agrippa was certainly seated on the edge of the High Town, it would, on this supposition, be in the same direct line east and west with the western wall of the Temple and the altar.¹

3. The account of Josephus is that the Temple, 600 feet square, was formed by Solomon by scarping the rock in the exterior, and then filling up the hollows round the walls with the debris obtained by levelling the summit²; and just such is the square of 600 feet at the south-western corner of the Haram. If we measure 600 feet from the south-west corner along the southern wall, we come to a wall running off north, partly scarped and partly built of masonry, being the old eastern wall of the Temple.³ And again, if we measure 600 feet from the south-west corner along the western wall, we then trace a distinct line of demarcation, a wall or scarpment running due east across the Haram⁴, being the northern boundary of the Temple. And again, this wall or scarpment entirely ceases at the distance of just 600 feet from the western wall, showing that the Temple square extended no further in that direction.⁵ It is also remarkable that at the distance of 600 feet from the south-western corner the western wall of the Haram changes its direction and diverges slightly to the west⁶; and this is an additional proof that the Temple did not reach beyond the 600 feet, for it cannot be supposed that the wall of the Temple was otherwise than one undeviating line.

¹ See ante, p. 234.

² See Ant. viii. 3, 9; xv. 11, 3. Bell. v. 5, 1.

³ Barclay, 506.

⁴ Fergusson, 16.

⁵ Bibl. Dict., art. Jerus. 1021.

⁶ This appears from Catherwood's Survey. Fergusson's Notes on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, p. 18.

That this square of 600 feet at the south-west corner of the Haram is all solid, with the exception of cisterns and subterranean passages, cannot be doubted¹; for at the south-west corner is the fragment of the vast bridge, which could only have rested against a solid embankment. And again, half-way along the south side of this square is a passage leading off northward from the double gate (of which we shall say more presently), and on the *left* of this passage an attempt has at some time or other been made, but in vain, to penetrate the solid mass²; and on the *right* of the same passage the space between the double gateway and the eastern termination of the 600 feet is also solid, as the keepers of the Haram affirm.³ At present, as the spectator contemplates the southern part of the Haram extending 932 feet east and west, it displays a uniform surface, and he forgets that after measuring off 600 feet from the western end, all to the east consists merely of a few feet of earth resting upon no solid foundation, but ill supported by under-ground columns. If this slight superstructure were removed, we should then see an embankment of 600 feet abutting east upon the ravine running down to the Valley of Cedron.

4. Josephus assigns to the Temple a bridge conducting from it to the upper city; and not only so, but tells us that the bridge led from the south-west corner of the Temple.⁴ We walk to the south-west corner of the Haram, and there we find the remains of the bridge, the pier or foot of an immense arch measuring 51 feet along the wall north and south, and consisting of vast

¹ Barclay, 511. Bartlett's Jerus. Revis. 160.

² Barclay, 511.

³ Barclay, 511. Bartlett's Jerus. Revis. 160.

⁴ Ant. xiv. 4, 2. Bell. i. 7, 2; ii. 16, 3; vi. 6, 2; vi. 8, 1.

stones, one of them $20\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and another $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The chord of the arc which is left measures 12 feet 6 inches, the sine 11 feet 6 inches, and the versed sine 3 feet 10 inches.¹ The distance of the bridge from the foot of the High Town is about 350 feet, and the span of the arch, if perfect, would be 40 feet.² If the bridge was continued up to the High Town itself, there must have been a succession of several arches, say five or six; but it is not plain from Josephus how far the bridge reached, as in one place he speaks of it as connecting the Temple with the Xyst, which was at the foot of the High Town³, and at another as connecting the Temple with the High Town itself.⁴ It suffices for our present purpose to show that here we have the bridge to which Josephus refers, and, consequently, that here must have stood the south-western corner of the Temple.

5. Another argument derived from the bridge in connection with the royal cloister is an architectural one, and first suggested by Mr. Fergusson. It is this: The cloister at the south consisted of a nave 45 feet wide, with two aisles, each 30 feet wide, making together 105 feet. The centre of the cloister, therefore, would be $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet from each side. To this we must add the thickness of the wall; and as Josephus gives the breadth of the inner Temple wall at 8 cubits, or 12 feet⁵, we may assume the outer wall to have been of the same dimensions; and then the 12 feet added

¹ See view of the remains of the bridge in Traill's Josephus, i. 225, 105; Bartlett's Jerus. 135.

² Robinson, i. 287; iii. 221. Barclay, 102.

³ καὶ γέφυρα τῷ ξυστῶ τὸ ἱερὸν συνῆπτεν.—Bell. ii. 16, 3.

⁴ γέφυρα συνάπτουσα τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν.—Bell. vi. 6, 2.

⁵ ὄντα ὀκτάπηχυν τὸ εὖρος.—Bell. vi. 5, 1.

to the $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet would make $64\frac{1}{2}$ feet as the distance of the centre of the royal cloister from the south-west corner. Let us next see what is the distance of the centre of the bridge from the same point. From the corner to the bridge is 39 feet, and the bridge extends along the wall 51 feet, so that the centre of the bridge would be just $64\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the south-west corner. Thus the centre of the bridge and the centre of the cloister coincide to a nicety. Further, the bridge was in all 51 feet wide; and, if we allow 3 feet on each side for the parapets, the remaining 45 feet, the roadway in the middle, would exactly answer to the central nave of the cloister, which was just 45 feet wide. Can these correspondences have been purely accidental? Is it not evident that the bridge was constructed for the cloister, or the cloister for the bridge, and that the bridge and central nave together formed the grand approach to the Temple?

6. But now that we are speaking of the royal cloister, there is still another very powerful argument to be drawn from it in confirmation of our view. We have already observed that the columns of the southern cloister stood in four rows, and were 162 in number; and leaving out the two columns which, as the central nave was 45 feet wide, were required for carrying the western wall, with an intercolumniation of 15 feet, over the bridge, each row consisted of 40 pillars. Now, if the Temple extended along the southern side for 600 feet, the intercolumniations or rather the epistyles, measured from the centre of one column to the centre of the next, would be 15 feet, which, as the pillars were about 5 feet in diameter, and 37 feet high¹,

¹ Ant. xv. 11, 5.

would be just the usual and ordinary intercolumniation adopted in the ancient temples. Fergusson, speaking architecturally of the intercolumniation, observes, "Were I restoring this stoa [cloister] without knowing what number of columns it contained, I certainly would adopt something between 14 and 16 feet, as the limit each way."¹

7. Again, the Temple, according to Josephus, contained gates in the southern wall at or about the middle.² Not a gate (πύλην), but gates (πύλας), i. e. a double doorway. The Middoth confirms this, and assigns to the gates the name of Huldah. Assuming 600 feet along the southern side of the Haram from the west to be the southern wall of the Temple, we find just such a gate towards the middle, i. e. 365 feet from the west end, and 235 from the eastern end. The reason why the gateway was not exactly in the middle, was that the passage led up to one of the gates of the inner Temple, which on the south had four gates. The architect had to choose of the two middle ones either the eastern or the western, and he naturally chose the eastern, as nearest to the most frequented part of the Temple.³ This double gateway is of ancient masonry, and running from it is a vaulted vestibule 42 feet in width and 52 in length, in the centre of which is a monolithic column, 6 feet 6 inches in diameter and 21 feet high, crowned with a foliated capital of great beauty, and thought to be of the age of Herod.⁴ If so it no doubt supported one of the

¹ Fergusson, p. 9.

² τὸ δὲ τέταρτον αὐτοῦ μέτωπον, τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, εἶχε μὲν πύλας κατὰ μέσον. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

³ Fergusson, p. 14.

⁴ Fergusson, p. 14. See sketch of the pillar in Fergusson, p. 15.

columns of the royal cloister. Now mark the position of this column. It stands 42 feet from the outer wall; but we have seen that the outer wall of the Temple was 12 feet broad, and that the aisle which stood next it was 30 feet wide, making together the exact measurement of 42 feet! How can this be the result of accident?

At the middle of the northern end of this vestibule is an oval pillar, 6 feet 8 inches by 5 feet 4 inches, and from this point run off two passages, divided throughout by either piers or pillars.¹ The left-hand passage is the only one now open. It rises from the oval pillar by nine steps, which occupy a space of about 19 feet in length; then is horizontal for 124 feet; then ascends by a gentle inclined plane for $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet; then is level for 38 feet, and then terminates by a flight of steps leading up to the Haram. The whole length is said to be 259 feet.² The entire workmanship of these vaulted passages is characteristically Jewish, with the exception of some trifling Turkish additions. The vestibule, indeed, has been considerably Romanized; and the entablature on the exterior is also referable to Roman taste.³ But the bevelling of the stones in the vestibule is still apparent, notwithstanding the attempt of subsequent architects to bring the walls, by chipping and chiselling, to an even surface.⁴ Can it then be doubted that this passage is the Huldah gate,

¹ See view of the double gateway in Traill's Josephus, i. xvii. and xxii.; of the vestibule, *ibid.* xvii. xli.; of the subterranean passage generally, *ibid.* 96; and of the plan and elevation of it, *ibid.* xxiv. See also views in Barclay, 488, 510.

² Barclay, p. 511. There appears to be some error in the details or in the total.

³ Barclay, 511.

⁴ Traill's Josephus, xviii.

and that it terminated at or near one of the gates of the inner Temple? As Josephus describes the inner Temple in general terms as standing in the middle of the outer one, and having four gates on the south, and as the outer Temple was 600 feet every way, and the Huldah gate is 365 feet from the western corner, it probably conducted to the most easterly of the two middle gates of the inner Temple.

8. The gates of the Temple furnish a still further argument. Josephus states that on the west side of the outer Temple were four gates, one leading over the bridge and therefore the most southern; two other gates leading down to the suburb¹; and another descending by steps into the valley, and then up again to the inner Lower Town. As the roadway from the High Town led over the bridge to the southern cloister, we may conclude that the approach on the north from the inner Low Town led to the northern cloister: a confirmation of which is, that while Simon built a tower over the Bridge gate, at the south-western corner of the Temple, he erected another at the north-western corner, the object of which must have been to command the entrance there into the Temple. The two intervening suburb gates would, therefore, probably stand at regular intervals, in the space between the southern cloister and the northern cloister. The south wall was 12 feet thick, and the southern cloister 105 feet wide, making together 117 feet; and the north wall was also 12 feet thick, and the northern cloister 30 feet wide, making together 42 feet; and deducting these two spaces of 117 feet and 42 feet (=159 feet) from 600 feet, which was the length of the western

wall, we have 441 feet for the interval between the north and south cloisters. If the two suburb gates were equidistant, we have to divide the 441 feet by 3=147 feet, the distances of each gate from the other and from the cloisters. The southern of the two suburb gates would, therefore, stand at the distance of 117 feet + 147 feet, or 264 feet from the south-western corner; and accordingly an ancient doorway has been discovered¹ on the west side, about 270 feet (called by mistake *yards*) from the south-west corner, i. e. within 6 feet of the spot where the centre of it would stand by the above calculation.² As we are not told what part of the gate is at the distance of 270 feet, the approximation may possibly be brought still nearer. 20 feet 2 inches of the lintel in length and 6 feet 9 inches in breadth are alone now visible, the rest being occluded by the house of Abu Seud Effendi on the south side, and by the accumulation of soil. It formerly led up to the Temple by a flight of steps, and the portal of it in the interior of the Haram still remains, and is 14 or 15 feet wide. This gate, as it was next Shallecheth, the Bridge gate, was probably Parbar, which is mentioned in connection with Shallecheth. "At Parbar westward, four [Levites were] at the causeway [the bridge], and two at Parbar."³ The gates at the causeway or royal cloister were double, and together 45 feet wide, and required four guards; while the next gate, being single, demanded only two. Parbar in Hebrew signifies "outer place," or is a cor-

¹ See view of it from the exterior, Barclay, 489; and from the interior, *ibid.* 490.

² Barclay, 489. And see Williams, ii. 309; Stewart, *Tent and Khan*, 273.

³ 1 Chron. xxvi. 18.

ruption of Parvar, "suburb";¹ and in either case agrees with the description of Josephus, that this gate conducted to the suburb. The other suburb gate has not been discovered, but, as it probably stood about 147 feet to the north of Parbar, it should be looked for at the distance of about 411 feet from the south-west corner, or a little to the south of the Mekhimeh. However, the approach to this gate was very likely by an external flight of steps which has been broken away, and no trace may now be recoverable, unless the cavities and projections in the stones at the Wailing-place were connected with some flight of steps.²

9. The royal cistern for supplying the Temple with water was also lately discovered by Barclay.³ It lies about 400 feet from the west wall of the Haram, and 400 feet from the south wall, and this would place it (as we have located the Temple) under the court of the women. A rude subterranean passage leads down to it by a flight of steps. The reservoir, supported by ill-shaped massive pieces of rock, which might have been formerly covered with metal, measures in circumference 736 feet, and is 42 feet deep, and capable of holding nearly two millions of gallons. It has eight apertures above for draw-wells, but only one of them still remains open. The aqueduct is said to enter it on the west, but the conduit has not been observed.⁴

Under El Aksa, also to the south-west of the royal cistern, is another cistern 47 feet deep, which is thought by Barclay to be supplied with water from the royal cistern, though the communication was not noticed.⁵

¹ Lightfoot.

³ See view of it, Barclay, 526.

⁴ Barclay, 525.

² See Barclay, 491.

⁵ Barclay, 527.

Half-way also between the Mosque of Omar and El Aksa is a fountain, and in the same line to the south in El Aksa is a well; and this fountain and well, if the Temple stood at the south-west corner, would be situate at the eastern extreme of the inner Temple, one to the north and the other to the south; and the Middoth speaks expressly of a draw-well on at the latter spot.¹

These cisterns, fountain, and well, all within the square of 600 feet at the south-west corner of the Haram, seem to indicate strongly where the Temple formerly stood.

10. Of all the evidences, the one perhaps entitled to the greatest respect is the testimony of the Jews themselves, by the immemorial custom of assembling at what is called the Wailing-place, to bemoan the loss of their beloved sanctuary.² The tradition carries value with it, as one accompanied with a ceremony, and that not attractive from outward gaud, or as ministering to pleasure or amusement, but it is the outpouring of a broken spirit, and one which could only have originated in the destruction of their Temple, and must have been coeval with that event, and thence transmitted from generation to generation. Where then is the Wailing-place found? Where is the spot which the Jews have ever believed to be the nearest approach to the site once occupied by the Holy of Holies, and the high altar? In general terms the Wailing-place is described as to the north of the Mougrehin gate, and to the south of the Mekhimeh.³ The most precise description of it is in Barclay, who states it to extend along 40 yards, or 120 feet, of the

¹ Fergusson, 28, 72.

² See views of the Wailing-place, Traill's Josephus, ii. 225; Bartlett's Jerus. 140; Barclay, 493.

³ Stewart, Tent and Khan, 272. Rob. i. 237. Bartlett, 140.

western wall of the Haram, commencing at 100 yards, or 300 feet, from the south-west corner. Thus it would reach from a point 300 feet from the corner to 420 feet from the corner. Where then, supposing the Temple to have occupied the south-west corner of the Haram, would be the Sanctuary? The inner Temple stood about the middle of the outer Temple, or rather at nearly equal distances from the northern and southern cloisters. The southern cloister being with the outer wall 117 feet, and the northern cloister with the wall 42 feet, and the whole west side being 600 feet, the space between the cloisters would be 441 feet, so that the centre of the inner Temple would be $117 \text{ feet} + 220\frac{1}{2} \text{ feet}$, i. e. $337\frac{1}{2} \text{ feet}$ from the south-west corner. It would therefore be within the Wailing-place; and the invariable practice of the Jews is in strict conformity with the general description, and even the particular measurements, of Josephus. This, again, can scarcely be set down as an accidental coincidence.

11. There are some other circumstances which, though nothing in themselves, may yet be thought in the gross to carry weight. Thus the colonnades, by our plan, would reach from the south wall to a line drawn across the Haram, a little below the Golden gate, and it is in this space that fragments of marble columns have been dug up within the Haram¹, and are found built into the eastern wall.² Again, the Temple extended along the south wall as far as the Triple gate, and here is observed a stone with beautiful moulding on one edge, and which Barclay³ thinks must have formed part of the decoration round the top of the old Temple wall. Again, two statues were erected by the

¹ Barclay, 486.

² Williams, ii. 366.

³ Page 491.

Romans on the site of the Temple, opposite the Wailing-place.¹ And it has been surmised, and is probably the fact, that the two statues were not both of them of Hadrian, but one of Hadrian and the other of Antoninus Pius; and the stone containing the inscription at the foot of the statues, which seem to have stood together, has been built into the south wall of the Haram, at the gate Huldah, and contains the names of both emperors: "Tito Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio P. P. Pontif. Augur. D. D. P. P."²

We now proceed to notice a few points which may be urged as objections to our theory of the site of the Temple, but are capable of easy explanation:—

1. It may be said that Josephus expressly states the southern cloister to have run from valley to valley³, and therefore that it must have extended to the eastern wall of the Haram. But the question is, Where was the Valley of Jehoshaphat considered to begin, and where did the embankment of Solomon end? If we take away the substructions at the south-east corner of the Haram, we then find the solid embankment extending from the south-west corner for 600 feet along the southern wall, and then a slope down to the eastern wall of the Haram. By saying that the southern cloister ran from valley to valley, Josephus means only that it ran from the Tyropœon

¹ "Sunt ibi et statuæ duæ Hadriani. Est et non longe de statuâ lapis pertusus, ad quem veniunt Judæi singulis annis et unguent eum, et lamentant se cum gemitu et vestimenta sua scindunt, et sic recedunt."—*Itin. Hiero.*

² Barclay, 492.

³ τὴν βασιλικὴν στοὰν τριπλὴν κατὰ μῆκος διῶσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς φάραγγος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέριον, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκτεῖναι προσωτέρω δυνατόν.
—*Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

Valley to the slope which, beginning at 600 feet from the south-west corner, descends into the Valley of Jehoshaphat. We have seen also, in a former page, that the intermural space between the eastern wall of the Temple and the eastern wall of the city is constantly referred to by Josephus as the "so-called Cedron ravine;" and Josephus, in saying that the Temple extended from the western to the eastern ravine, may have meant by the latter the "so-called Cedron ravine."

2. It has been urged that at the north-west corner of the Haram is a rock from 20 to 30 feet high¹, which is scarped on the exterior, and has been levelled by art in the interior, and therefore that Antonia must have stood on this point. But this circumstance, far from being an objection, is a strong confirmation of our hypothesis. The castle at the north-west corner of the Haram was not Antonia but Acra, the famous Macedonian keep. The Temple, the Temple Mount or Antonia, and Acra, are all noticed by the Maccabees as distinct, and standing near to each other: "*Moreover the Mount of the temple, that was by the Acra, he [Simon] made stronger than it was; and there he dwelt, himself with his company.*"² As Simon could not dwell in the Temple itself, the Temple Mount can only mean the Baris or Antonia on the north of the Temple; and as the Acra was originally on a higher mount still, this could only be on the north of Antonia, in which direction the ridge of rock ascends. But the site of Acra was razed by Simon, and we see the result in the scarpment by way of outer wall on the north, and the levelled surface of the rock within the inclosure.

3. But, if the Temple occupied a square of 600 feet

¹ Barclay, 244, 486.

² 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

at the south-west corner, how, it may be asked, do you explain the substructions under the Haram at the south-east corner, for thus they would stand there supporting nothing?

“Care colonne chè state quà?
Non sappiamo in verità.”

In the first place, opinions differ much as to the date of these substructions. Williams thinks they were erected by Justinian, and Fergusson maintains the same¹; Robinson regards them as ancient²; and Barclay considers them decidedly Jewish.³ If erected after the time of Titus they can form no objection to our hypothesis, as we can then strip them off and show the scarped rock and massive wall of the Temple at the west end of the substructions. However, I think they must be regarded as much more ancient. The walls are of the same colossal bevelled stones as the Temple, and the pillars also are bevelled, and altogether have a Jewish aspect quite at variance with a later age.⁴ There is also an evident connection between these vaults and the Temple. At the entrance of the double gateway at the south, which is unquestionably the old Temple gate, Huldah, there is a closed door on the right; and in the substructions there is, near the entrance by the Triple gateway on the left, a corresponding door, so that, no doubt, a subterranean passage once existed between Huldah and the vaults; and as this part of the Haram is a solid mass, it is very unlikely that such an under-ground communication should have been excavated subsequently to the original construction. Again, the Triple gateway⁵

¹ Notes on Holy Sepulchre, 31.

² Rob. i. 305.

³ Barclay, 503.

⁴ See sketch by Barclay, 504.

⁵ See a sketch of it in Bartlett's Jerus. Revis. 149.

at the western end of the vaults leads up to the north by a corresponding triple roadway, supported by columns and separated from the rest of the vaults by a wall; and the most westerly of the three roads extends upward for 247 feet, and, what is remarkable, by an easy inclination, as if for an ascent to the Temple above.¹ One use, then, of the substructions is obvious. The sacrifices at the altar, particularly during the festivals, required an incredible number of oxen, sheep, and other cattle; and how were these to be kept in readiness out of sight and sheltered, especially in winter, from the inclemency of the weather? Stalls to an immense extent must have been provided somewhere, and the natural supposition is that they were here situate. The columns, though insufficient to carry the massive cloister of the Temple, were admirably adapted for sustaining, as they still do, a roof, with a few feet of earth. It is not unlikely that they were erected by Solomon himself, partly as stables for the Temple victims, and partly for his own stud of so many thousand horses. During the Crusades they were used as stables, and from time immemorial have passed by the name of Solomon's stables.²

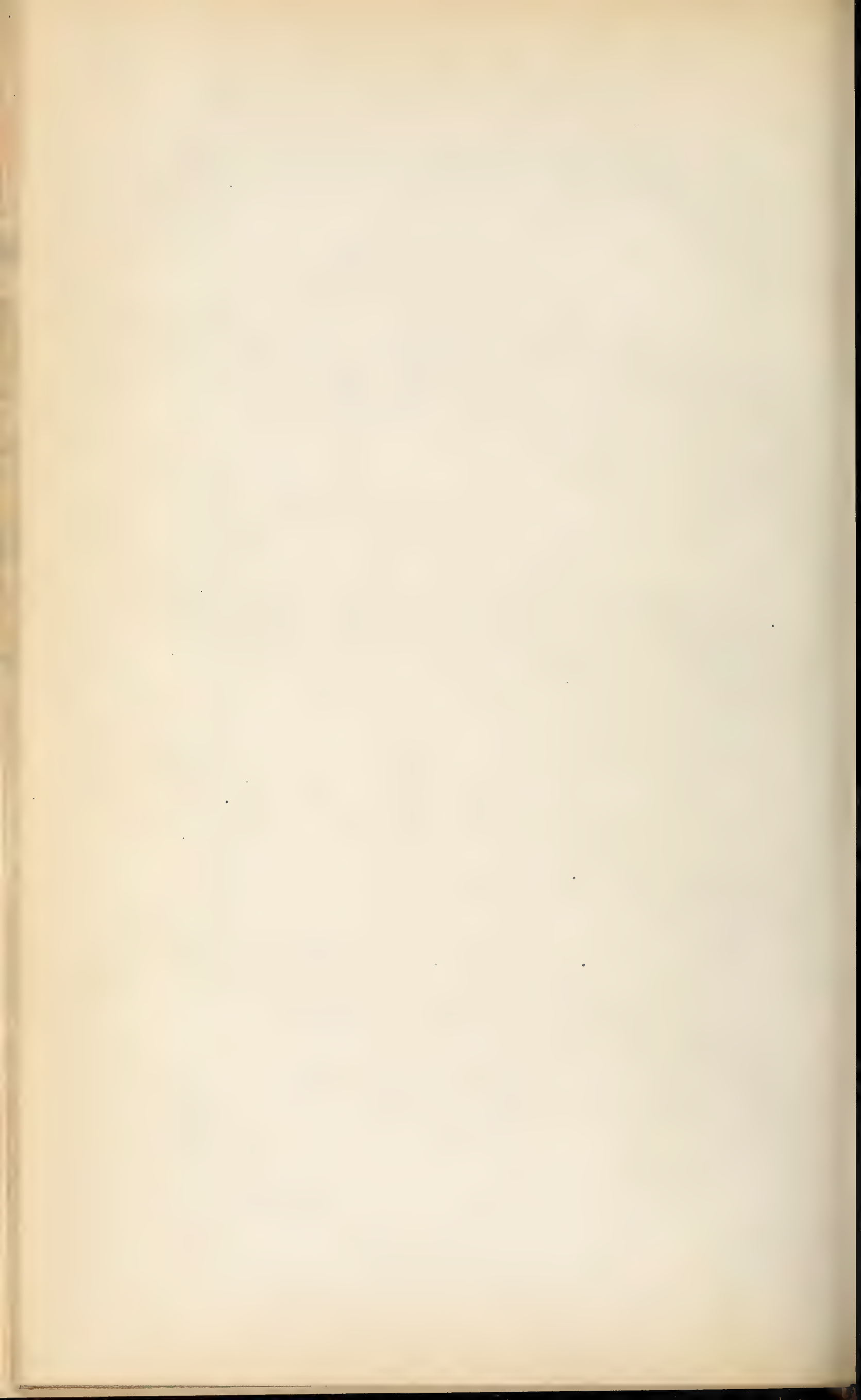
Lastly. It may be urged, that if the Temple was at the south-west corner, and did not stretch across to the Valley of Cedron, and particularly if the substructions were along the eastern side, how could Josephus say that if a spectator stood at the eastern end of the southern cloister, and looked down into the depth below, his eyes would swim at the sight of the immeasurable gulf?³ It will be remembered, that the old wall of the city is distinctly said to have run along the

¹ Barclay, 508.

² Barclay, 367.

³ Ant. xv. 11, 5.

eastern brow of Ophel, and to have joined the eastern cloister of the Temple, i. e. at the southern end of it. Now, a spectator placed at the point which Josephus describes would stand just at the angle formed by the city wall from the south, and the wall of the Temple plateau running from west to east ; and posted thus at the eastern end of the southern cloister, and turning his eyes downward to the south-east, would have an uninterrupted view of the whole valley below, which happens here to have the greatest depth. No wonder, therefore, that if the extra height of the central nave of the southern cloister were added to the precipice below, the prospect should be as fearful as the historian depicts it. At no other point along the walls of the Temple could a spectator obtain such a view ; and this, apparently, is the reason why Josephus, to heighten the effect, chooses to place the spectator, in imagination, at this particular spot.



APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE SECOND AND THIRD WALLS.

As to the course of the second and third walls, the author's mind has fluctuated much between the hypothesis adopted in the text and the view that the *second* wall ran by the Damascus gate, while the *third* wall lay more to the north, about a quarter of the way between the Damascus gate and the Tombs of the Kings. The substance of the following argument was written when the latter theory was in favour, and is here given that the reader, in so difficult a subject, may exercise his own judgement:—

As to the Second Wall, our hypothesis is that it started from the north wall of the High Town, at a point due south of the south-west corner of the Pool of Hezekiah (that is, just to the east of the three great towers, the bulwark of Herod's palace, viz. Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne), and that sweeping round the north of the pool it pursued an easterly course between the Hospital of St. John and the Holy Sepulchre, and then struck off northward to a point 300 feet west of the Damascus gate, and then along the line of the present wall eastward to the summit of Bezetha, and thence in a curve southward to the foot of Antonia.

The course of the wall along the west of the Pool of Hezekiah, and then along the north of the pool, is evidenced by the remains of the ancient wall, eleven or twelve feet thick, discovered a few years since along the north of the pool.¹

¹ See ante, p. 48.

How far the wall continued from the pool eastward, before it deflected northward, it is impossible to say with any certainty, until further investigation has been made ; but a considerable space must have existed between the western limb of the third wall and the western limb of the second wall, to allow room for the encampments that were formed there, first by Cestius, and after him by Titus.

The turn of the second wall to the north was probably soon after passing the Hospital of St. John, and at all events the second wall appears to have struck the line of the present wall at a point 300 feet to the west of the Damascus gate. At least, the ancient remains traceable in the wall, from the Damascus gate westward, entirely cease at that spot and thence to the north-west corner of the present city are no foundations of the old wall, which we can only account for by supposing that the wall, at 300 feet from the Damascus gate, changed its direction, and turned southward.

The second wall, if drawn from this point 300 feet west of the Damascus gate southward, in a line parallel to Damascus Street, would of course exclude the Holy Sepulchre, and this harmonises with other facts. When the Roman world became Christian under Constantine, the Emperor lost no time in investing the hitherto despised Golgotha with due honour, and erected a magnificent church over the spot, known from that day to the present as the Holy Sepulchre. Now at that period the ancient walls of the city were no doubt traceable, and indeed the north wall of the High Town is expressly mentioned by a contemporary¹, and as the Christians of that day must have known as well as those of the present that our Lord was crucified without the second wall, we have thus the testimony of the first half of the fourth century that the second wall ran to the east of the Holy Sepulchre. Not only so, but from the accounts both of the Bordeaux Pilgrim who wrote A.D. 333, and of Eusebius his contemporary, we should infer that although Constantine first, in A.D. 329, founded a church

¹ The Bordeaux Pilgrim, in going down from Pseudo-Sion along Damascus Street to the Nablous (Neapolis), or Damascus, gate, uses the expression: "Inde [from Pseudo-Sion] ut eas *foris murum*, de Sione euntibus ad portam Neapolitanam:" where by the wall he evidently means the old north wall of the High Town.

over the Sepulchre, the sites of the Crucifixion and of the Sepulchre were not then first discovered, but had been known long before, and indeed (as must have been the case) had never been lost sight of.

Along the west side of the bazaars and of Damascus Street, which leads from the northern end of the bazaar to the Damascus gate, are found certain ancient remains, which are appealed to by Williams as evidences that the line of the second wall took this direction; but, while we accept the theory that the second wall ran somewhere between Damascus Street and the Holy Sepulchre, we attach no importance to the ruins referred to. They are as follows, and let the reader judge for himself. In the first place, on the west of the bazaar, about half-way along them, are seen some foundation stones which may have belonged to some old portal, but according to the best opinions they are not of a Jewish character, but are attributable to the great palace of the Knights of St. John.¹ Again, on the west of Damascus Street, further to the north, and due east of the Holy Sepulchre, are three columns of grey granite, and a fourth at the entrance of the middle bazaar. But these belonged unquestionably to the propylæa erected by Constantine on the east of the Holy Sepulchre.² At the northern end of the western bazaar are also two limestone columns, but to what building they appertained is uncertain.³ It is difficult, however, to imagine that these columns could have had any connection with a city wall, and they are rather referable to some public edifice. At the corner formed by Damascus Street and the street running along the north of the Holy Sepulchre is a single limestone column, said to mark the site of a gate once known as Porta Judiciaria. Whether a gate ever stood there at all is open to doubt; and, if there did, we are left to conjecture what was the nature of it, whether a gate to a palace or an arch over a street. The more ancient statement is that the Porta Judiciaria stood on the *east* side of Damascus Street.

There is, however, on the west of Damascus Street one remnant of antiquity, viz. the cistern of Helena, half-way between the Holy Sepulchre and Damascus Street, not, how-

¹ Rob. iii. 167.

² Rob. iii. 168.

³ Rob. iii. 168.

ever, in the direct line between the two, but more to the north. This immense reservoir, lying north and south and measuring 60 feet in length and 30 in breadth¹, is hewn out of the solid rock; and it is suggested by Schultz, not without some show of reason, that it was excavated for supplying water to the troops in garrison in the adjoining tower and along the walls. On the other hand, it may, as the name would seem to imply, have been excavated by Helena, or rather by her son Constantine, for the supply of water to the adjoining Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

That the second wall reached up to a point 300 feet west of the Damascus gate, and then turned eastward, we may further conclude from the notice of an ancient writer, that at the Damascus gate, called by him the Gate of Ephraim "the wall which inclosed our Lord's Sepulchre met *the old wall*."² The only wall which could possibly include the Holy Sepulchre would be one running round the west and north sides of it; and, if so, the old wall which it met in the neighbourhood of the Damascus gate must have been the second wall, which there came up from the south.

From the point 300 feet from the Damascus gate, where the second wall bent eastward, to the Damascus gate, we have no difficulty. All along may be traced the foundations of an ancient Jewish wall. Not only so, but at about 100 feet *west* of the Damascus gate are found distinct traces of an ancient Jewish tower, of which the guard chamber is very distinguishable. The stones are large and hewn smooth and bevelled, and "at the bottom of the half archway, on the extreme right, appears the *under side* of a flight of steps cut off at the third step, and belonging as if to the ancient and not to the modern portion of the building."³ "Of these stones," says Robinson, "one measured $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and another $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, by a like height. Some of them are much disintegrated and decayed, but they all seem to be lying in their original places as if they had never been disturbed from the spot where they were first fitted to

¹ Barclay, 539. Tobl. Dritte Wand. 219.

² "Porta Effraim [Damascus gate] . . . In eo conveniebat murus qui includit Sepulchrum Domini cum muro veteri." — Tobl. Top. 100, note 1.

³ Traill's Josephus, xlviii.

each other.”¹ Tobler, in his third Tour, gives a ground plan of them, and adds that the tower in which this ancient masonry occurs stood north-west and south-east, i. e. in a wall having the same direction as the present wall from the Damascus gate to this point.²

We come now to the Damascus gate itself, where we meet with another undisputed remnant of an ancient Jewish wall. As you approach the gate from the south or city side, there stands on the right-hand on the east “a square dark room, adjacent to the wall, the sides of which are entirely composed of stones having precisely the character of those still seen at the corners of the Temple area, large, bevelled, with the whole surface hewn smooth. Connected with this room, on its west side, is a winding staircase leading to the top of the wall, the sides of which are of the same character.”³ The foundations are in the same line as the existing wall, and indicate, therefore, in this part the line of the old second wall.

From the Damascus gate to Fort Antonia the course of the second wall is somewhat problematical. In the first place, within the city, and to the east of the gate, are the foundations of a wall of large bevelled stones, running off to the south-east⁴; and these may be thought to indicate the direction of the second wall. It would seem, however, more probable that, after passing the Damascus gate, the wall, before turning southward, ran up to the crown of Bezetha; for not only would this be the natural line of defence in a military point of view, but thus far the wall is accompanied by a deep trench until the height of the rock itself is such as to render any outer fosse unnecessary.

There is also a further reason for this view. It is generally admitted that the hill under which is the grotto of Jeremiah formed originally one continuous ridge with the crown of Bezetha, and that the level plain now intervening has been produced artificially by the removal of the stone for building purposes. Why, then, did the surface-quarrying cease just at the foot of the present wall? Was it that no further materials were required? So far is this from being the case, that under

¹ Rob. i. 313.

³ Rob. i. 313.

² Tobl. Dritte Wand. 340.

⁴ Tobl. Top. i. 58.

the wall which crowns the height of Bezetha is the entrance into a vast subterranean quarry, called the Cotton Cave, extending southward 644 feet, and of considerable, though not of equal, breadth. There can be no doubt that this was the source from which all the stone was drawn for the erection of the Temple and its outworks, and the walls of the city. Indeed there is no other quarry of any size in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Why, then, it may be asked, was not the stone still worked at the surface, the most obvious and convenient course, instead of being excavated at the expense of great additional labour from the bowels of the earth? The answer is, that as the ancient, or second, wall pursued, in this part, the line of the present wall, the surface excavations were carried on up to the foot of the rampart, and that as the houses and streets within the city could not be disturbed, the quarrying from that point was prosecuted by mining under ground.

Robinson supposes the second wall to have ascended the hill of Bezetha, and then to have taken a south-easterly direction to Antonia; and observes that at the crown of Bezetha "the ridge drops off on the *east* by a perpendicular ledge of rock eight or ten feet high (which would answer the purpose of a fosse to the wall where it turned southward), and then slopes down gradually eastward. If, now, we may suppose an ancient corner tower, or bastion, on the wall at this high point, then the wall might readily be carried from it in a south-easterly direction along the crest of the ridge of Bezetha, quite to the north-west corner of the Haram, or near it, leaving el Mulawieh just on the west. Such a course would bring the steep and short western slope [of the hill of Bezetha] within the city, while the great body of the hill itself, the more level, extended, habitable part, would remain on the outside. It is likewise worthy of remark, that, such a course of the wall being supposed, the present arch, Ecce Homo, the piers of which we have seen to be probably ancient, would fall directly upon its line."¹

The remark of Robinson, that the main part of Bezetha would fall without the city, was probably intended to meet

¹ Rob. iii. 190, 191.

the objection, that Josephus states the fourth hill, or that of Bezetha, to have been inclosed for the first time by the third wall, built by Agrippa. In further answer to the same difficulty, we may observe that the historian speaks of this fourth hill as lying at the north of the Temple inclosure, opposite Antonia, and divided from the latter by a deep fosse, which can only be what is now called Bethesda¹; and the second wall, as we have drawn it, would, as Robinson explains, have been the boundary line of this tract on the west, but would not have comprised it. This line of the second wall, parallel to the line of the third wall, which ran along the brink of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, will serve also to explain the account in the mediæval writers, that from the quarter at the north of the Temple was no exit, except by passing *between the two walls* to Herod's gate.

The second wall, taking this course, would not only run in the line of the arch called Ecce Homo, but, if it continued to the west of Pilate's house and thence turned eastward, would also embrace the old Jewish tower mentioned by Barclay and Tobler in this part, and would at the same time be accurately described by Josephus as "going up" to Antonia.

The second wall, as we have drawn it, after making an elbow from the first wall to the Gate of Ephraim, sweeps round in a curve to the point of junction with Antonia; and this remarkably corresponds to the slight notices of it both in Holy Writ and in Josephus. Thus it is said that David, by whom the second wall was constructed, "built the city round about, even from Millo [the Haram] round about."² And again, "David built round about from Millo and inward."³ And Josephus in similar terms describes the second wall as "encircling,"⁴ that is, running in a curvilinear line round, the northern quarter of the ancient city.

The objection with some to this line of the wall is, that it encloses but a very small space; but to this there is a ready answer, viz. that Josephus, in his brief account of the second wall, states that it embraced "*only*"⁵ the quarter at the north of the High Town.⁶ We only fear that the second wall,

¹ Bell. v. 4, 2.

³ 2 Sam. v. 9.

⁵ *μόνον*.

² 1 Chron. xi. 8.

⁴ Bell. v. 4, 2.

⁶ Bell. v. 4, 2.

259

drawn as we have suggested, would comprise *too large* an area; for while Josephus ascribes to the first wall 60 towers, and to the third wall 90 towers, he gives to the second 14 towers only. However, the second wall not improbably was really weak in respect of its towers; and this may be the reason why Uzziah erected additional towers "at the corner gate and at the turning of the wall."¹ This would also explain why the Jews, on the approach of Cestius, at once abandoned the second wall, and retired into the Temple and behind the first wall.² After all, however, the statement that the second wall had 14 towers only may be open to suspicion, for in the very same paragraph Josephus attributes 90 towers, at the distance from each other of 300 feet, to the third wall³, which would make the third wall 45 stades long, and therefore exceeding the circuit of the whole city, which was only 33 stades. And if so palpable a blunder was committed by Josephus, or has crept into the text, as to the third wall, we may venture the surmise that there is some mistake in respect of the second wall: in short, that instead of 14 towers, the historian wrote 40 towers, which would be just about the proportion that the length of the wall itself would lead us to expect.

We are confirmed in this view by a very singular coincidence. The first wall had 60 towers, and if the second had 40, the two together would make 100. It is not unlikely that all the towers were numbered: "Walk about Sion, and go round about her, and tell the towers thereof;"⁴ and if so, at what point would the numbers begin, and which way would they run? The Tower of Hananeel was the great landmark in Jerusalem, and would presumably be the first tower. The successive labours of Nehemiah are described as running from Hananeel northward, and the gates of the city were counted in the same direction, for the Fish gate, to the north of Hananeel, is called the *first* gate, and the old gate which stood next to it is called the *second*. We should conclude, therefore, that the 100 towers were numbered from Hananeel northward; and, if so, the tower which stood next to Hananeel on the east would be the last reckoned, and therefore the 100th;

¹ 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

³ Bell, v. 4, 2.

² Bell. ii. 19, 4.

⁴ Ps. xlviii. 12.

and the name of this tower is, accordingly, Meeah, or the 100th!¹

Next, as to the course of the Third Wall. From the north-east corner of the Haram the line of the third wall can be traced without difficulty to the north-east corner of the present city, and thence westward along the present wall to the neighbourhood of Herod's gate. Between this point and the crown of Bezetha are traces of ancient towers, but they do not necessarily belong to a Jewish wall, for they do not exhibit the bevelling of Jewish masonry, and may be referred to the wall of Adrian.

Let us, then, for the present desist from tracing the third wall further in this direction, and, beginning *de novo*, endeavour to follow it from its western commencement at the tower of Hippicus.

It is agreed on all hands, that from Hippicus, now the castle of David, at the Jaffa gate, the third wall ran to the north-west corner of the present city. At this north-west angle stands Kalah el Jalûd, or the Giant's castle, which cannot itself be at all referred to the time of the Herods; but "at the south-west corner of the mass, near the ground, are three courses of *large bevelled* stones, roughhewn, and passing into the mass diagonally in such a way as to show that they lay here before the present tower and bastion were built."²

Krafft confidently appeals to the diagonal position of the bevelled stones as a manifest proof that the original tower was octagonal, and, therefore, Psephinus, which is described as octagonal³; and if this were so, the course of the third wall would be determined at once, for Psephinus stood at the north-west corner of the city; and therefore, if Kalah el Jalûd be Psephinus, the third wall here turned to the east. But the circumstance that the bevelled stones enter the more modern edifice diagonally proves only that the standing tower differs in configuration from its predecessor, but not that the ancient tower was octagonal or of any other particular shape. Let us see, then, whether the wall can, in fact, be traced by existing vestiges in a northward direction beyond the Giant's castle.

¹ תִּמְנָה Neh. iii. 1.

² Rob. i. 318; iii. 193. Tobl. Top. i. 66.

³ Krafft, 37.

Our best witness as usual is Robinson: "On the east of the path [from the north-west corner to the Tombs of the Kings], about half-way between these tombs and the north-west of the city, we noticed," he says, "foundations which belonged *very distinctly* to the third wall, consisting of *large hewn blocks of stone*, of a character corresponding to other works of those ages. On the west of the path, and running up the hill in a line with the above, were other similar foundations, and still further up were stones of the like kind apparently displaced. By following the general direction of these, and of several scarped rocks which had apparently been the foundations of towers or the like, we succeeded in tracing the wall in zig-zags in a westerly course for much of the way to the top of the high ground. Here are *evident* substructions of towers or other fortifications extending some distance, and from them to the north-west corner of the city the foundation of the ancient wall is *very distinctly visible* along the hard surface of the ground."¹

Next in authority to Robinson stands Tobler, who, after having repeatedly examined the ground with the greatest care, agrees with Robinson that the third wall ran beyond the present city in a north-west direction²; and, when he visited Jerusalem for the third time, he tells us that he then felt more convinced than ever, from an inspection of the ground, that such was the course of the third wall.³

Psephinus, according to this view, would stand at or near the crown of the hill: and it need not excite surprise that no gigantic bevelled stones, the foundations of Psephinus, have been discovered there; for Psephinus in Greek signifies the Rubble Tower, and no doubt it was so called because, while Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, which were over against it, were constructed of vast masses, regularly hewn and bevelled, Psephinus, as erected in haste, was formed of materials most ready at hand, that is, of stones not chosen or fitted together, but answering rather to the description of rubble.

From this culminating point of the hill ruins at irregular intervals and in a zigzag direction may be traced, toward

¹ Rob. i. 314.

² Tobl. Top. i. 124.

³ Tobl. Dritte Wand. 341.

the north-east, to a spot from which a line drawn to the dome of the church of the Holy Sepulchre would range south 23 east¹, and here the track of the wall is lost. However as it could not have ended thus we have no resource but to take the account of Josephus for our guide onward. According to him, the third wall, after turning at the tower Psephinus, ran over against the Tombs of Queen Helena. These, as Robinson has proved to demonstration, are now called the Tombs of the Kings; and the wall, therefore, if it ran across the great north road, would be accurately described as passing over against the Tombs of Helena, which look down upon the present Damascus gate, and were still nearer to the more advanced gate of the third wall.

The next step in the account of Josephus is that the third wall ran across the Royal caverns²; and if the wall followed the course of the ruins at the north-west corner to the summit of the hill, and then struck off eastward, it would, after crossing the great north road, pass over Zahara, the mount of tombs, under which is the grotto of Jeremiah, a subterranean excavation fifty feet in depth, with the entrance towards the south and the roof supported by two large pillars.³ Opposite the grotto, on the south of the courtyard by which it is approached, are other caverns of smaller dimensions.

From the Royal caverns, the wall, continuing its course eastward, ran with a slight inclination to the south into the line of the present wall, a little to the east of Herod's gate, and thence to the north-east corner, where was the corner tower, and thence southward to the old ambit of the Temple platform.

There are some isolated passages in Josephus, which will further elucidate the course of the third wall, and which we proceed to consider.

1. It is stated by him that the whole circuit of the city was 33 stades.⁴ This has been a stumbling-block in the way of other theories, but is in exact accordance with the foregoing view. If we measure the ambit of the walls as

¹ Tobl. Top. i. 118.

² διὰ σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν μηκυνόμενον. — *Bell.* v. 5, 2.

³ Barclay, 468.

⁴ *Bell.* v. 4, 3.

we have drawn them, the result is 19,800 feet, or just 33 stades.

2. It is mentioned that the Tombs of Helena were at the distance of three stades from the city.¹ The identity of the Tombs of Helena with the Tombs of the Kings is indisputable, and the space between the tombs and the existing north wall is *four* stades; but drawing the wall as we have done, from the ruins at the summit of the hill at the north-west corner, across the hill of Zahara, to the north-east corner of the city, the distance of the Tombs of the Kings from the wall would be just three stades. This striking coincidence may be thought perhaps accidental. But no! it so tallies with another fact that any mistake is out of the question.

3. The position of Scopus, or Prospect hill, in the north, is represented to be seven stades from the city.² Now, the distance of Scopus from the present north wall is eight stades.³ But if Agrippa's wall ran from the summit of the hill at the north-west of the city, and then eastward across the hill of Zahara, the distance of Scopus from the wall would be just seven stades.

Before parting from the walls it will be proper to notice the Walls of Adrian, erected A.D. 136. It is generally admitted, and can scarcely be doubted, that Adrian's walls ran in the line of those which are now standing. Let us see, then, how Adrian dealt with the ancient walls. Jerusalem when besieged by Titus had attained its maximum proportions. But when Jerusalem, under the name of Ælia, rose again from its ashes, it was once more in its infancy. Had the old outer walls been reconstructed in the same lines, the armour without, so disproportionate to the shrunken body within, would have been simply ridiculous. It stands to reason, therefore, that Adrian's city would be circumscribed by a wall of much less extent. This evidently was the course pursued, for on Pseudo-Sion the old first wall had run round the hill on the south along the brink of the Valley of Hinnom; but the new wall, after covering little more than the northern half of the hill, deflected across it

¹ τρία στάδια τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως ἀπεχούσας. — *Ant.* xx. 4, 3.

² τῆς πόλεως σταδίου ἑπτα διέχων. — *Bell.* v. 2, 3.

³ *Tobl. Top.* ii. 4.

on the south, in the line of the present wall, and thus excluded a very considerable portion of the ancient city. The same plan was adopted in the north. The new wall was drawn very much further south, and was made up of a portion of the third wall, from the Jaffa gate as far as the Giant's castle, on the west; and a portion of the third wall, from the north-east corner of the Haram as far as the north-east corner of the present city, on the east; and these two portions were connected by a northern wall, which in its way ran in the line of the northern portion of the old second wall; that is to say, the northern limb of the second wall had reached from a point 300 feet west of the Damascus gate to the summit of Bezetha on the east, and this now became part of the northern line of Adrian's wall. And, to complete the defence on the north, a wall was carried from the point 300 feet west of the Damascus gate, in a westerly direction, until it reached the third wall coming up from the Jaffa gate; and again, from the summit of Bezetha eastward, until it reached the third wall coming up from the Haram. From the point 300 feet west of the Damascus gate to the north-west corner of the present city, and from the crown of Bezetha hill to nearly the north-east corner of the city, are no foundations of bevelled masonry indicating a Jewish origin, but there are ruins of ancient towers, which are probably to be ascribed to this wall of Adrian.

No. II.

THE BORDEAUX PILGRIM.

THE peregrination of the Pilgrim of Bordeaux about Jerusalem is very brief; and, as it will elucidate the topography of some of the principal localities, we shall run through his notes, with some accompanying remarks.

“There are,” he says, “at Jerusalem two great pools at the *side* of the *Temple*, that is, one on the right hand and the other on the left, which Solomon made.”¹ One of these pools is, of course, Bethesda; and as he places it by the side of the *Temple*, he evidently uses the latter word in the same sense as Josephus, viz. the Temple platform. As the pilgrim makes his way from east to west, by the right and left hand must be intended the north and south; and thus Bethesda is the pool on the north, and that on the south must be the pool the ruins of which were traceable some years since near the south-east corner of the Temple platform, but for which, perhaps, we should look in vain at the present day.²

“But more within the city are two twin pools, having five porches, which are called Betsaida. Here the sick of many years were wont to be healed. But these pools have water which, when agitated, is of a kind of red colour.”³ Before we comment upon this passage, it will be as well to cite the language of Eusebius, the contemporary of the Pilgrim, upon the same subject. In his *Onomasticon* he speaks of Bethesda as “a pool at Jerusalem, which is the *Piscina Probatice*, and had formerly five porches, and now is pointed out at the twin pools there, of which one is filled by the rains of the year, but the other exhibits its water tinged in an extraordinary manner with red, retaining a trace, they say, of the victims that were

¹ *Itin. Hieros.*

² *Tobl. Top. ii. 78.*

³ “*Interius vero civitatis sunt piscine gemellares quinque porticus habentes, quæ appellantur Betsaida. Ibi ægri multorum annorum sanabantur, aquam autem habent eæ piscine in modum coccini turbatam.*” — *Itin. Hieros.*

formerly cleansed in it.”¹ From this legend of the water taking its colour from the blood of the victims, it is evident that the twin pools were immediately contiguous to the Temple inclosure; and from the words of the Itinerary, that they lay “more within the city” than the two which he had described before, they must be looked for on the west or city side; and as the pool to the south of the Temple inclosure was, in fact, without the walls, the Pilgrim must mean that the twin pools were to the west of the northern pool. I was disposed to think, at one time, that the twin pools might be found along the west side of the Temple platform; for at the present day, under the western wall of the Haram, is a pool called the Mekhimeh, commencing at the causeway and reaching 84 feet northward, and which is 42 feet wide; and still more to the north, near the Hammam es Shefa, is another quite large pool.² But there are two objections to this theory; for, in the first place, the Mekhimeh pool is roofed in, and, in fact, is a vast cistern; and the Pilgrim usually makes a distinction between pools, which he calls *Piscinæ*, and cisterns, which he calls *Excepturia*. And again, it is not easy to see *why* the Mekhimeh and the pool above it should be called the *twin* pools; for though they lie near to each other, they are not side by side, and apparently have no connection. But if we turn to the west of the great pool at the north of the Haram, we come upon the true import of the terms employed by the Pilgrim and by Eusebius; for at the south-west corner of Bethesda are two arched vaults side by side, running out westward, one about 12 feet wide and the other about 19 feet wide³, and both reaching from 130 to 140 feet in length, and both stuccoed, so that evidently at one time they were reservoirs for water.⁴ These, then, are the twin pools, and answer to the Pilgrim’s description of being “more within the city” than the great pool. Both of them are now dry, but the northern one is the more filled with rubbish⁵; and this again agrees with the account of Eusebius, that one of the pools was

¹ Euseb. Onomast., artic. Βηζαθά; and see Jerome’s translation.

² Barclay, 538.

³ See views of Bethesda, Traill’s Josephus, ii. 172; Bartlett’s Jerus. Rev. 112.

⁴ Rob. i. 330. Barclay, 321.

⁵ Tobl. Denkb. 62.

dry except when filled by the winter rains. The other, or southern pool, still, in Eusebius's time, held water, but the foulness of it may have given occasion to the legend that it retained the red tinge of the blood of the victims.

It is worthy of remark that the Jews call Bethesda the Pool of the Blood-offering¹, from their tradition that the victims were once cleansed in it. Indeed the word Bethesda signifies, in Hebrew, the House of Washing.² Eusebius, it will be observed, identifies Bethesda with the Piscina Probatice, and the great pool at the north of the Haram has from that time to the present been uniformly known as the Piscina Probatice.³

Assuming these parallel pools to be the twin pools referred to by the Pilgrim and Eusebius, we have their testimony that here was Bethesda. But how, then, it will be said, are the five porches to be accounted for? It must be remembered that in the course of so many centuries great alterations must have taken place in this part; and, though we can only conjecture what these changes have been, we can offer a probable conjecture. Josephus mentions that the Temple platform was screened from Bezetha by a deep fosse⁴, which would lead us to infer that it extended from the east at least as far westward as the rock on which once stood the Macedonian Acra. This was a long reach, and we may suppose that anciently, as now, a thoroughfare was formed across the fosse, and this would naturally be by arches or porches. At present there are only two arches on the south of the western end of the Bethesda, but if the whole breadth was spanned by arches, then, as the fosse is 130 feet wide, five arches would be about the number required. It was under these arches, then, which would be very spacious, that the "great multitude" spoken of by St. John were waiting for the moving of the waters.⁵ Bethesda, or the *House of Washing*, leads to the inference that the pool was not merely an expanse of water, but that some parts at least were substantial buildings for the reception of persons frequenting it, and the five porticoes running across the pool would answer to this requirement. The term employed by John is *κολυμβήθρα*, or the swimming-pool, which argues that the pool

¹ Tobl. Denk. 54.

³ Tobl. Denk. 53.

⁴ Bell. v. 4, 2,

² בֵּית אֶסְדָּא.

⁵ John v. 3.

was one of great extent, and Bethesda is one of the largest pools in or about Jerusalem. If this pool at the north of the Temple platform be not Bethesda, no other can be pointed out which could at all answer the description.

“There also is the crypt where Solomon was wont to torture the demons.”¹ This crypt may be the cave under the Sukrah, which has always been accompanied with some fearful superstition. The orifice in the floor of the chamber is, according to the Mahometans, the mouth of the infernal regions. At the present day, however, the tradition of Solomon’s torture of the demons attaches itself to another locality in the vast substructions at the south-east corner of the Haram.²

“There is the corner of the most lofty tower where the Lord went up, and he who tempted him said, &c.; and the Lord said unto him, ‘Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, but him only shalt thou serve.’ There also is the great corner-stone, of which it is said, ‘The stone which the builders refused,’” &c.³ The Pilgrim here describes the south-east angle of the Haram, the vast stones of which, from that time to the present, have called forth the astonishment of every beholder.

“Also, at the head of the corner, and under the pinnacle of the tower itself, are numerous chambers where Solomon had his palace. There also is the chamber in which he sat and wrote the Wisdom; but the chamber itself is covered with a single stone.”⁴ Here the Pilgrim refers, undoubtedly, to the extensive subterranean vaults at the south-east corner of the Haram, then called the Palace, and now the Stables of Solomon. The chamber in which Solomon is said to have written the Book of Wisdom is the one at the south-east point, now called the Cradle of Jesus. The entrance from above is by a flight of steps which leads down to “a subterranean chamber,

¹ “Est ibi et cripta ubi Solomon dæmones torquebat.” — *Itin. Hieros.*

² Barclay, 509.

³ “Ibi est angulus turris excelsissimæ ubi Dominus ascendit et dixit ei is qui tentabat eum . . . et ait ei Dominus: Non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum sed illi soli servies. Ibi est lapis angularis magnus de quo dictum est; Lapidem quem reprobaverunt ædificantes.” — *Itin. Hieros.*

⁴ “Item ad caput anguli et sub pinnâ turris ipsius sunt cubicula plurima ubi Solomon palatium habebat. Ibi etiam constat cubiculus in quo sedit et sapientiam descripsit. Ipse vero cubiculus uno lapide est tectus.” — *Itin. Hieros.*

in the middle of which, laid on the floor, is a sculptured niche in the form of a sarcophagus, with a canopy above.”¹

“There also are great cisterns of water under ground, and pools constructed with great labour.”² The cisterns here spoken of are, one of them the large cistern under the Mosque el Aksa³; and the other the Royal cistern, recently discovered at the bottom of a flight of 44 steps at the north-east of the Mosque el Aksa, supported by rude columns of native rock and masonry, 736 feet in circuit and 42 feet in depth, and capable of containing 2,000,000 gallons.⁴ The pools which the Pilgrim here contrasts with the cistern were probably above ground, and one of them, therefore, may be identified with that over the Royal cistern, and which, in the time of the Crusades, was “a basin and a dome supported by columns, and furnished water for the besieged and their cattle.”⁵ It is now a marble basin bordered with olive, orange, and cypress trees.⁶

“And in the fane itself, on the site of the Temple which Solomon built, on the marble before the altar, you would say that the blood of Zachariah had been just spilt. Nay, traces of the nails of the soldiers who slew him are to be seen over the whole area, so that you would think it was impressed on wax. There also are the two statues of Hadrian.”⁷ The Temple here spoken of must be that erected by Adrian to Jupiter, and expressly said by Dion to have been built on the site of the Jewish structure.⁸ Of the two statues of Hadrian, one, which was equestrian, is said by Jerome to have stood in the very Holy of Holies.”⁹

¹ Rob. i. 302. Barclay, 502.

² “Sunt ibi et excepturia magna aquæ subterraneæ et piscinæ magno opere ædificatæ.” — *Itin. Hieros.*

³ Barclay, 527.

⁴ Barclay, 526; where a sketch of it may be seen.

⁵ Rob. i. 301.

⁶ Rob. i. 301.

⁷ “Et in æde ipsa ubi templum fuit quod Solomon ædificavit, in marmore ante aram sanguinem Zachariæ ibi dicas hodie fusum. Etiam parent vestigia clavorum militum qui eum occiderunt in totam aream, ut putes in cerâ fixa esse. Sunt ibi et statuæ duæ Hadriani.” — *Itin. Hieros.*

⁸ καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον, νᾶν τῷ Διὶ ἕτερον ἀντεγείραντος. — *Dion. lxi. 12.*

⁹ “De Hadriani equestri statuâ quæ in ipso Sancto Sanctorum loco usque in præsentem diem stetit.” (Hieron. Comm. in Matt. xxi. 15.) “Ubi quondam

“And not far from the statues is the Beating-stone¹, to which the Jews come *every year* and anoint it, and make lamentations with groans, and rend their garments, and so retire.”² This touching custom of the Jews, which has continued from that time to the present, must necessarily refer to the Wailing-place in the western wall of the Haram, toward the south. The stones there are so worn away by the constant friction of the wailing multitudes, that the whole head may be buried in the cavities.³ We have seen that the Jewish Temple occupied a square of 600 feet at the southwest corner of the Haram; and, if so, the Temple of Jupiter, erected in its place, would stand on the same spot: and as one, if not both, of the statues was in the Temple, the Beating-stone, if identical with the Wailing-place, would, as described, be near the statues. It must not escape notice that the Jews came to wail “*every year*,” for by a decree of Adrian the Jews were prohibited, on pain of death, to approach their city.⁴ But in the days of Constantine this severity was relaxed; and at last they were allowed, as here mentioned incidentally by the Pilgrim, to make a mournful procession to Jerusalem *once a year*.⁵

“There also is the house of Hezekiah, king of Judah.”⁶ Of this we know nothing. The rest of the Pilgrim’s account has been inserted in the text.

erat Templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua et Jovis idolum collocatum.” (Hieron. Comm. in Esaiam, ii. 8.) — *Cited by Robinson*, i. 296.

¹ Or the stone that was beaten by the frantic grief of the mourners; as we say the Blowing-stone, for that which is blown into.

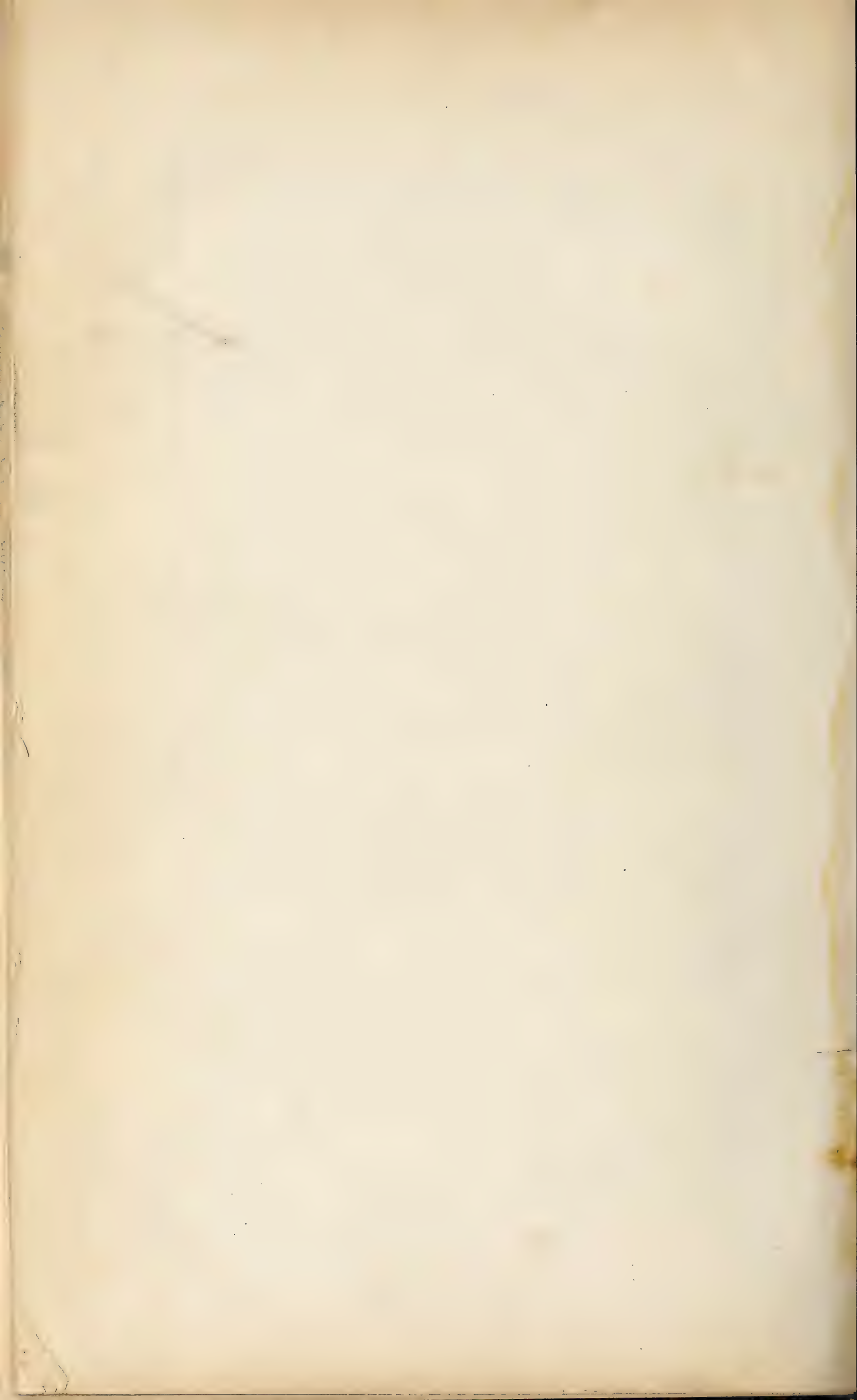
² “Est et non longe de statuis Lapis pertusus ad quem veniunt Judæi singulis annis, et unguent eum, et lamentant se cum gemitu et vestimenta sua scindunt, et sic recedunt.” — *Itin. Hieros.*

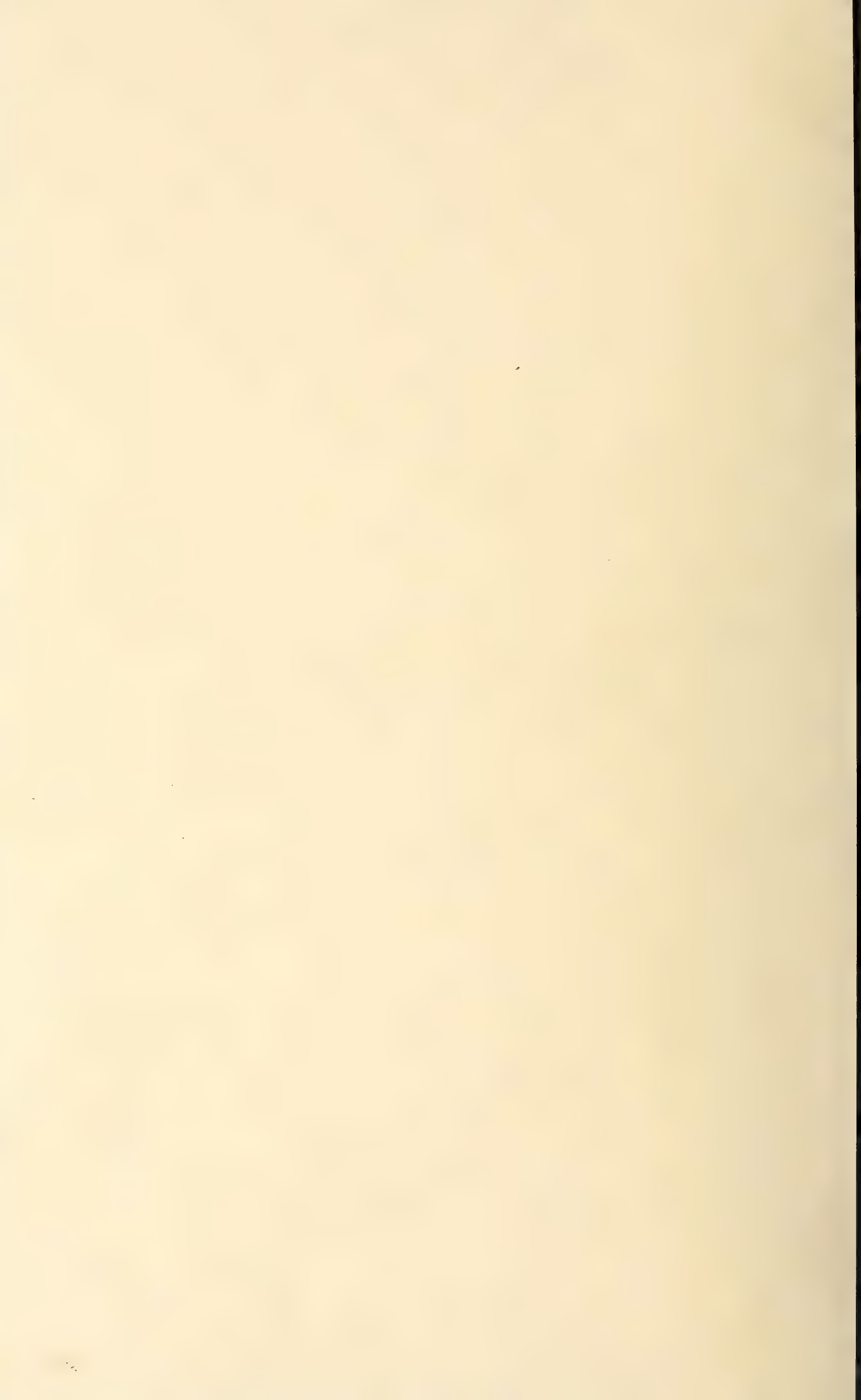
³ Traill’s Josephus, xlvi.

⁴ Rob. i. 369.

⁵ Rob. i. 371.

⁶ “Est ibi et domus Ezekiae regis Judæ.” — *Itin. Hier.*





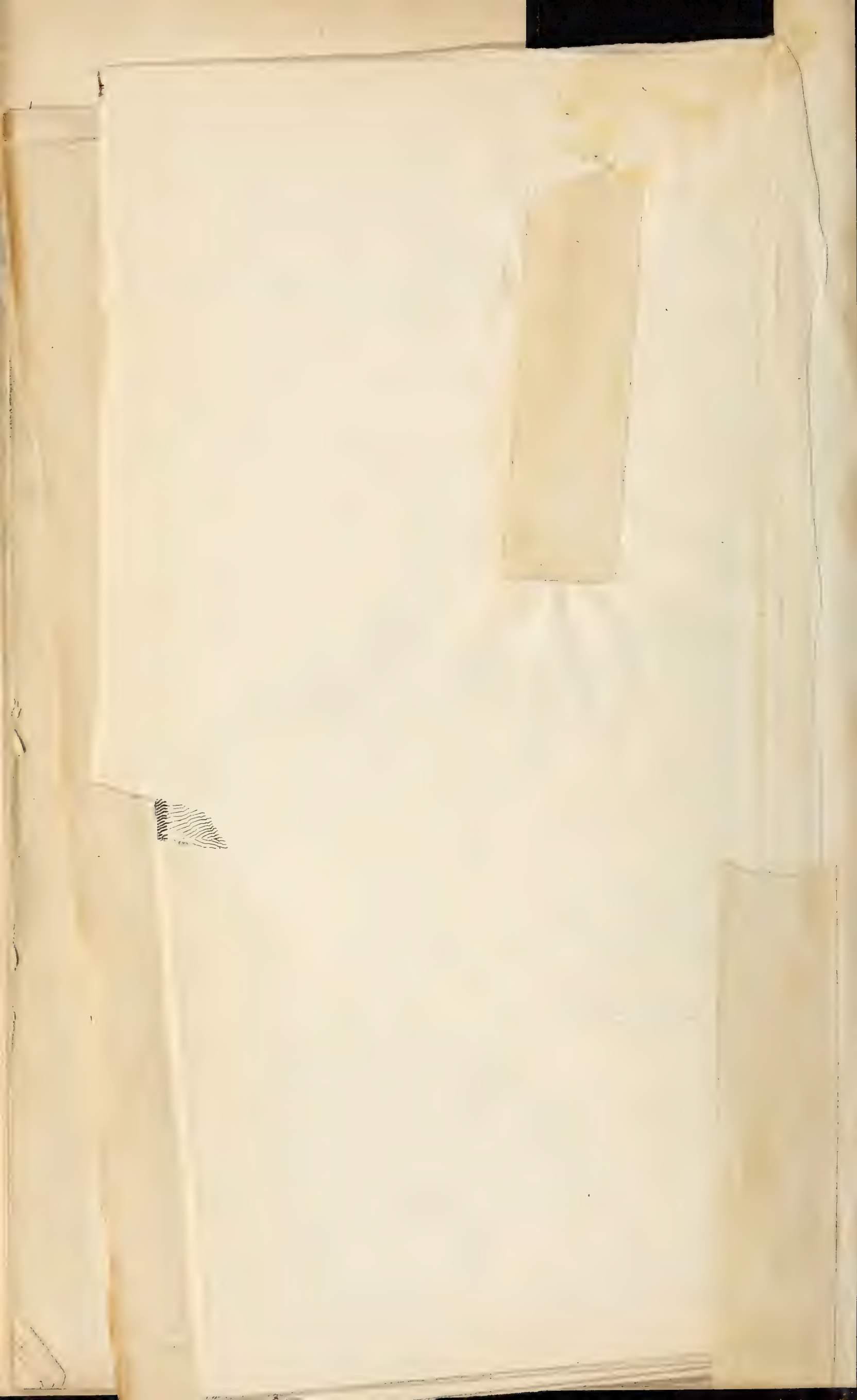
Map of JERUSALEM GROUNDED ON TOBLER'S MAP

SCALE



EL KALAH CASTLE OF DAVID
From Williams' Plan in Map of the Holy City





INDEX.

ABRAHAM, 2.
 Acra, 1, 82, 91, 101, 105.
 Adonijah, 9.
 Agrippa's palace, 234.
 Ahaz, 37.
 Alexander Bala, 89.
 — Jannæus, 94.
 Almond pool, 49.
 Amaziah, 34.
 Amon, 54.
 Ananias, 46.
 Anastasis, 145.
 Antigonus, 93, 97, 98.
 Antiochus Epiphanes, 82.
 — Eupator, 86.
 — Sidetes, 90.
 Antonia, 92, 198, 203, 210.
 Architecture, Assyrian, 29.
 Archive, 106.
 Aristobulus, 93, 94.
 Armoury, 74.
 Assyrians, 49.
 Athaliah, 24.

 Bab es Sinsleh, 117.
 Baris, 92, 94.
 Basilica, 135, 138.
 Bethmillo, 26.
 Bethso, 60, 113.
 Bethsura, 86.
 Bevelling, 21.
 Bezetha, 102, 109.
 Bordeaux Pilgrim, 133, 266.
 Bridge of Temple, 233, 237.
 Broad wall, 66.
 Brook, 39.

 Caiaphas, house of, 134.
 Calvary, 130.

Causeway, 233.
 Cestius, 122, 210.
 City of David, 83, 85.
 Cloisters of Temple, 216, 218.
 Constantine, 135, 138.
 Corner gate, 34, 35, 52, 65.
 Cotton cavern, 191.
 Council house, 117.
 Crucifixion, place of, 127.
 Cyrus, 57.

 David takes Jerusalem, 3.
 —, house of, 5.
 —, sepulchre of, 72.
 Demetrius Nicator, 90.
 — Soter, 88.
 Dragon pool, 38.
 Dung gate, 60, 113.

 Enrogel, 9.
 Ephraim, gate of, 34, 67.
 Eusebius, 138.
 Ezra, 57.

 Fergusson's theory of Holy Sepulchre,
 146.
 First wall, 113.
 Florus, 128.
 Fountain, 245.
 —, stopping of, 39.
 Fountain gate, 60.
 Fuller's field, 38, 124.

 Gardens, 131, 164.
 Gareb, 35.
 Gates of Jerusalem, 36, note 2.
 Benjamin, gate of, 63.
 Damascus gate, 170.
 Dung gate, 60, 113.

Gates of Jerusalem — *continued*.

- Essene gate, 60.
- First gate, 53, 65.
- Fish gate, 52, 53, 65.
- Fountain gate, 60.
- Gennath, 121.
- High gate, 33.
- Horse gate, 25, 76.
- Middle gate, 65.
- Miphkad, 77.
- Nablous, 135.
- Old gate, 65.
- Sheep gate, 62, 79.
- Two walls, gate betwixt the, 70.
- Valley gate, 38, 68.
- Gates of the Temple, 195, 197, 242.
- Huldah, 240.
- Water gate, 75.
- Giant's castle, 173.
- Gihon, what it was, 11.
- , upper water-course of, 40.
- Valley wall, 52.
- Goath, 35.
- Going up of corner, 77.
- Golden gate, 151.
- Golgotha, 130.
- Hadrian, statue of, 247.
- Hammâm es Shefa, 41.
- Hananeel, 34.
- Helena, palace of, 106.
- , tombs of, 186.
- Herod, capture of Jerusalem by, 97, 211.
- Hezekiah, 39, 120.
- High gate, 33.
- town, 1, 104.
- Hill, first or upper, 100.
- , second, 101.
- , third, 102.
- , fourth, 102.
- Hippicus, 110, 112, note 3.
- Hippodrome, 75.
- Holy Sepulchre, 127, 153.
- —, church of the, 140, 163.
- Horse gate, 25.
- House of the mighty, 72.
- of Caiaphas, 134.
- Huldah gate, 240.
- Hyrceanus I., 93.
- II., 94.
- Jebus, 1.
- Jehoiada, 24.
- Jerusalem, etymon of, 2.
- , New, 138.
- Jeshua, 57.
- Jews' wailing-place, 245.
- Joash, 24.
- John, monument of, 132.
- Jonathan Maccabeus, 88.
- Jotham, 37.
- Judas Maccabeus, 84.
- Kalah el Jalûd, 173.
- Kedron, 59, 206.
- Lebanon, house of, 28.
- Low town, 1, 105.
- Manasseh, 51.
- Marianne tower, 111.
- Martyrium, 138.
- Millo, 16, 49.
- Moriah, 2, 101.
- Mosque of Omar, 146.
- Nebuchadnezzar, 55.
- Nehemiah, walls of, 57.
- Ophel, or Ophla, 76, 115.
- Palace of Adiabene, 106, 219.
- of Agrippa, 96, 234.
- Asmonean, 96, 234.
- of Helena, 106.
- of Monobazus, 107.
- of Solomon, 22.
- Phasaelus, 110.
- Pompey, 95.
- Pool, Almond, 49.
- between two walls, 47.
- of Hezekiah, 45, 48.
- , King's, 47, 60.
- , Lower, 45.
- , Old, 41.
- "that was made," 73.
- , Solomon's, 13, 114.
- , Upper, 38.
- Population of Jerusalem, 193.
- Porta Judiciaria, 119.
- Neapolitana, 135.
- Potter's gate, 69.
- Prætorium, 128.
- Prison, 62, 75.

Propylæa, 144.
 Psephinus, 173, 179.
 Rabshakeh, 50.
 Rotunda, 145.
 Royal caverns, 190.
 — cistern, 244.
 — cloister, 238.
 Ruins, 48, 171, 173, 174.

 Sabinus, 208.
 Salem, 1.
 Scaurus, 95.
 Second wall, 118, 253.
 Sennacherib, 49.
 Sepulchre of David, 72.
 —, Holy, 127, 133.
 —, Jewish, 157.
 Serpent pool, 38.
 Siloam, 71, 106.
 Simon the Maccabee, 83, 91.
 Sion, 1, 6, 87, 89, 100.
 Solomon, King, 10.
 —, palace of, 22.
 —, pool of, 13, 114.
 —, temple of, 14.
 —, walls of, 32.
 Stairs of the city of David, 72.
 Struthion, 212.
 Sukrah, 228.

 Temple of Solomon, 14.
 —, site of, 235.

Temple, Catherwood's view, 220.
 —, Robinson's view, 221.
 —, Williams's view, 226.
 — platform, 206.
 Third wall, 167, 261.
 Titus, 189, 210.
 Tombs of Helena, 186.
 Towers of walls, 183.
 "Turning of the wall," 36, 74.
 Tyropæon, 102.

 Uzziah, 36, 72.

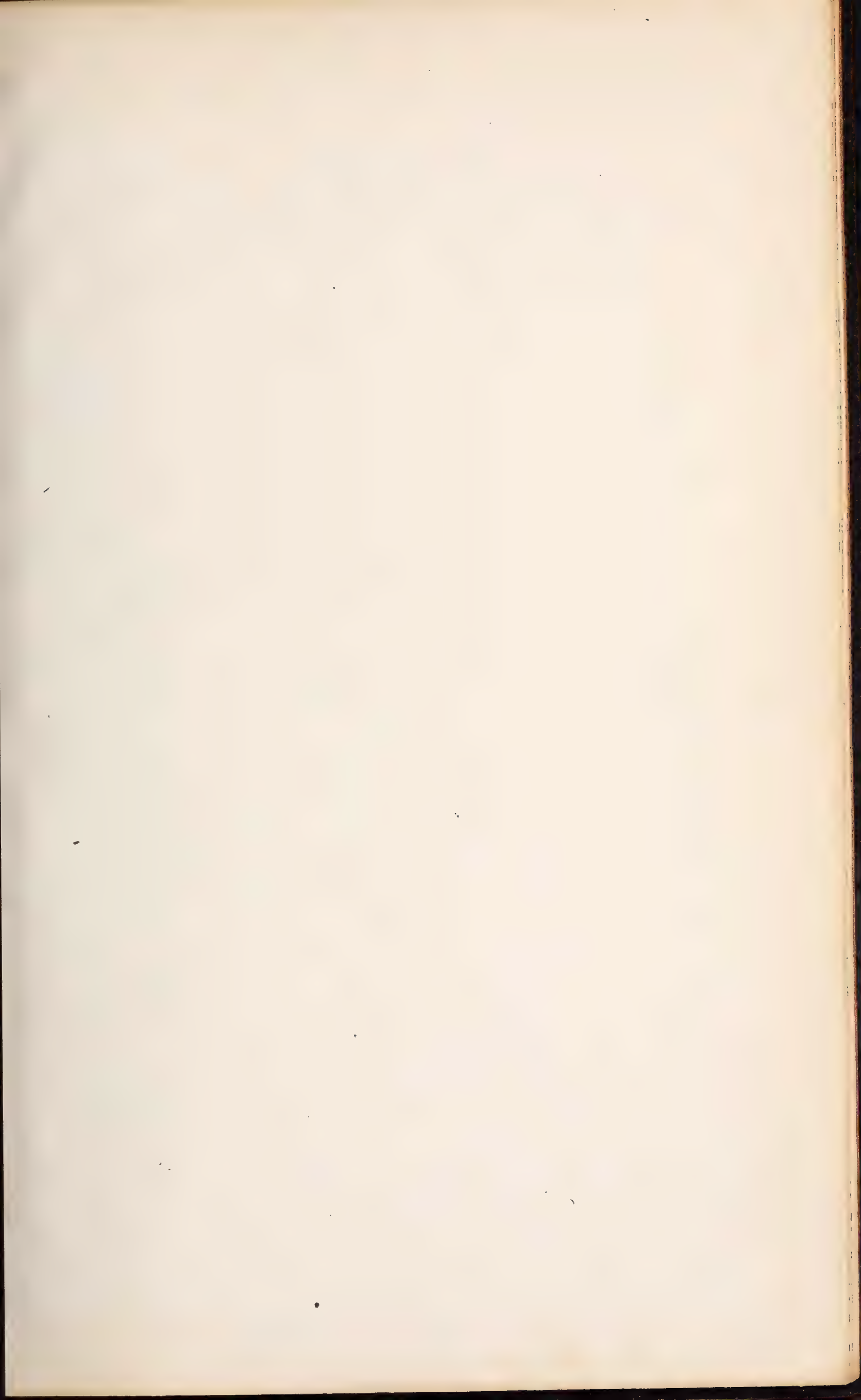
 Valley gate, 36, 59.
 — of Tyropæon, 102.

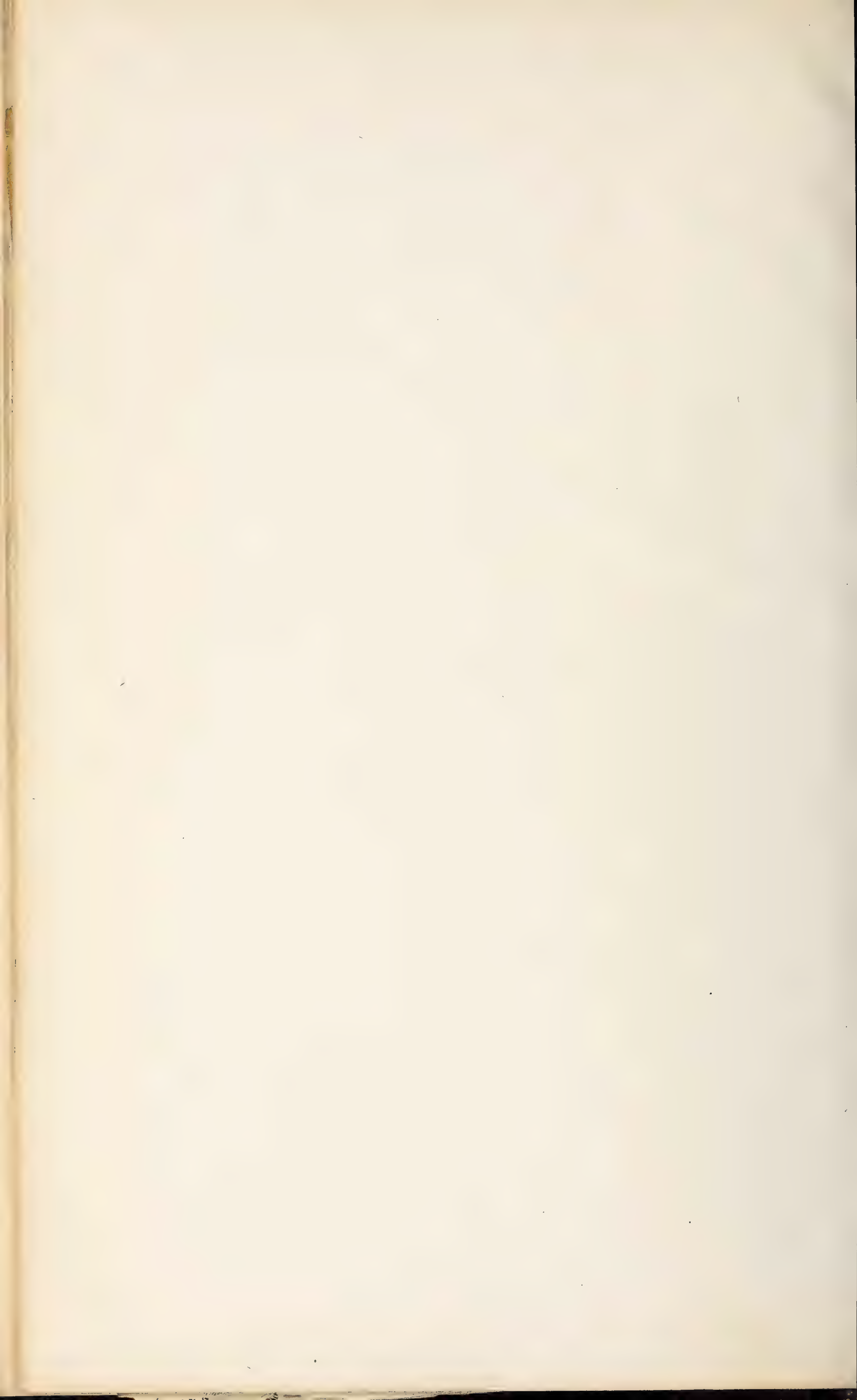
 Wailing-place, 245.
 Walls of city, 99, 110.
 Broad wall, 48, 67.
 of Nehemiah, 57.
 First wall, 113.
 Second, 47, 118, 253.
 Third, 167, 261.
 Wall round Tyropæon, 69.
 "Without," of Hezekiah, 47.
 Water, want of, at Jerusalem, 93.

 Xyst, 116.

 Zedekiah, 55.
 Zerubbabel, 57.

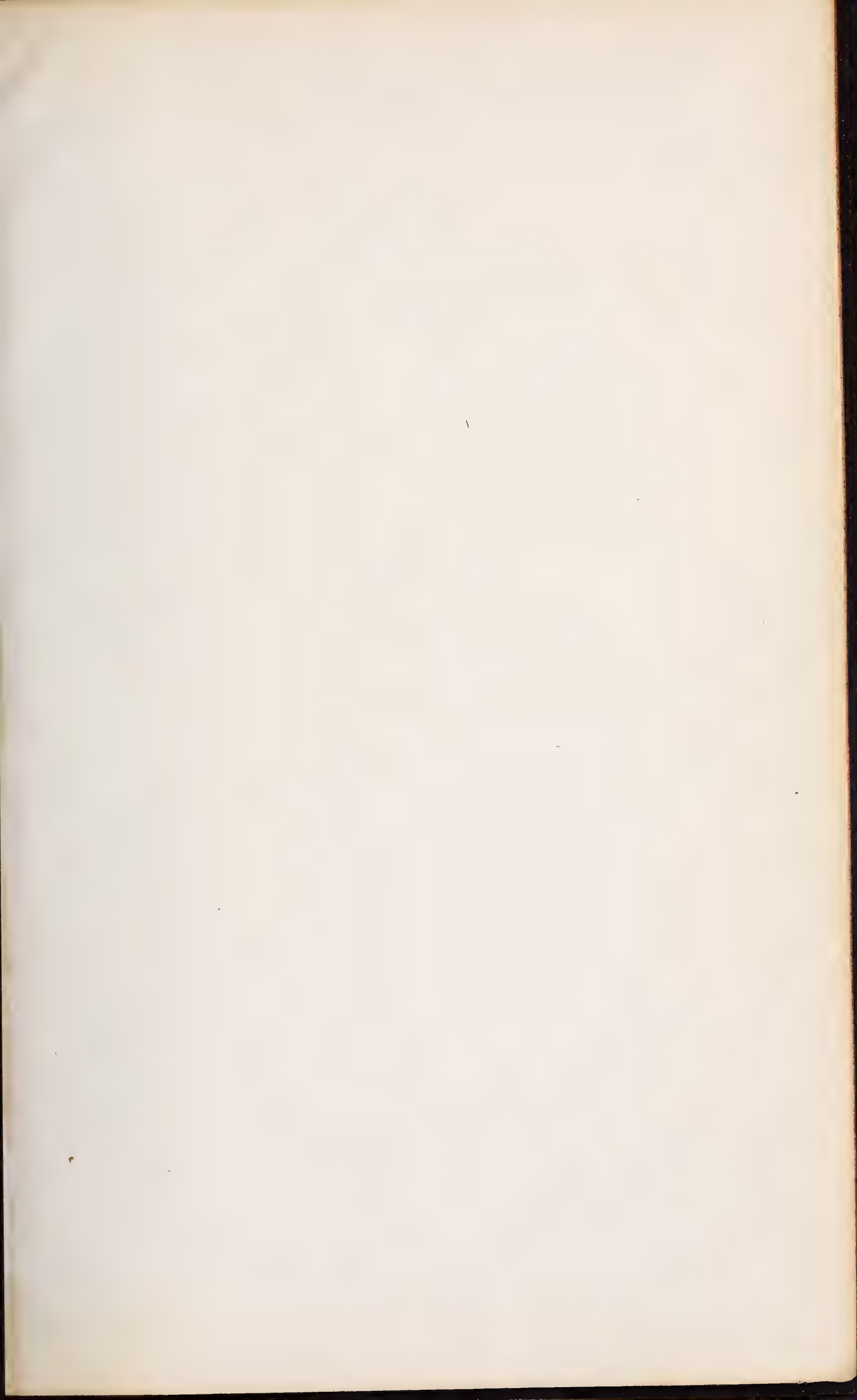
LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE

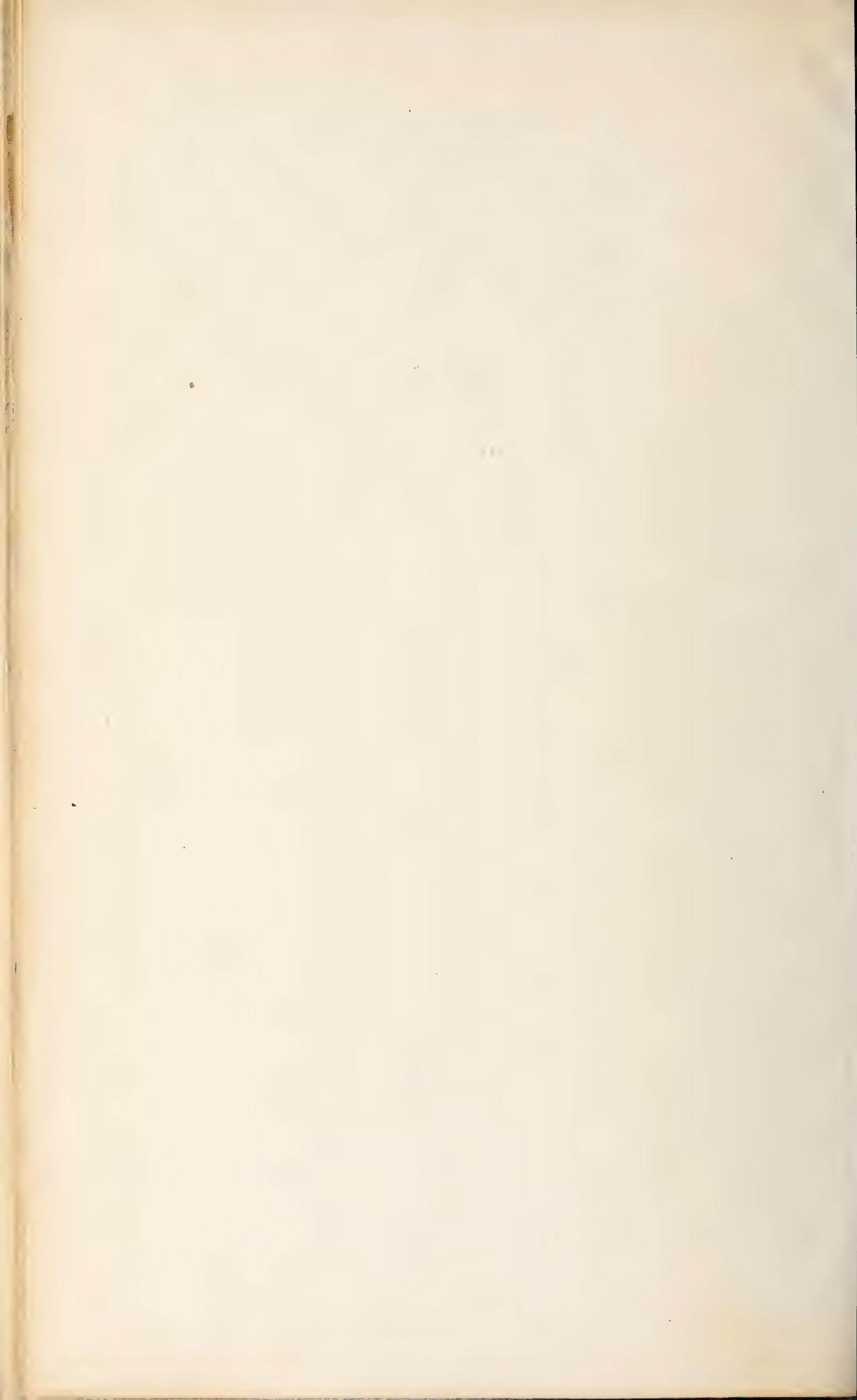




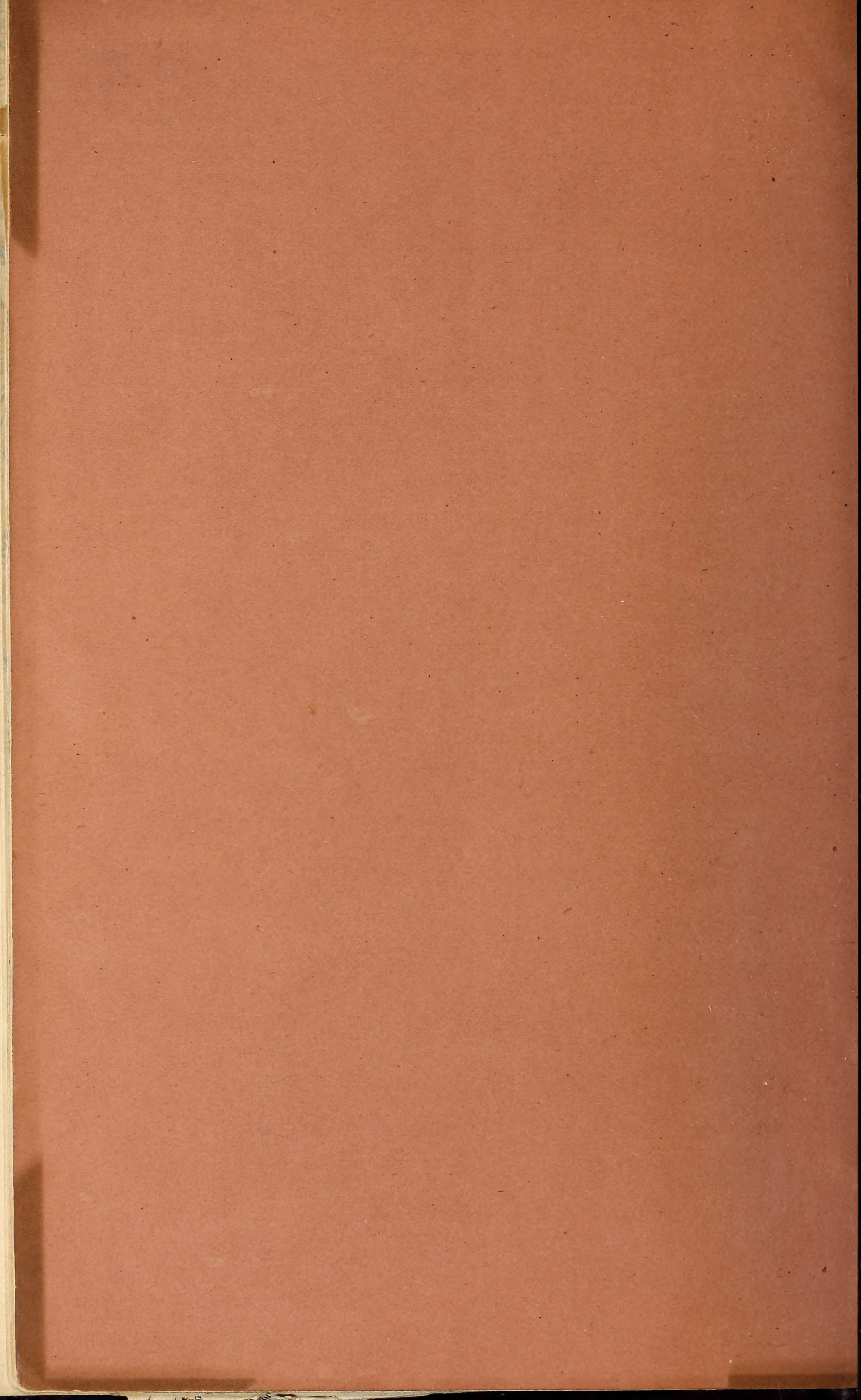












LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 017 655 277 3

